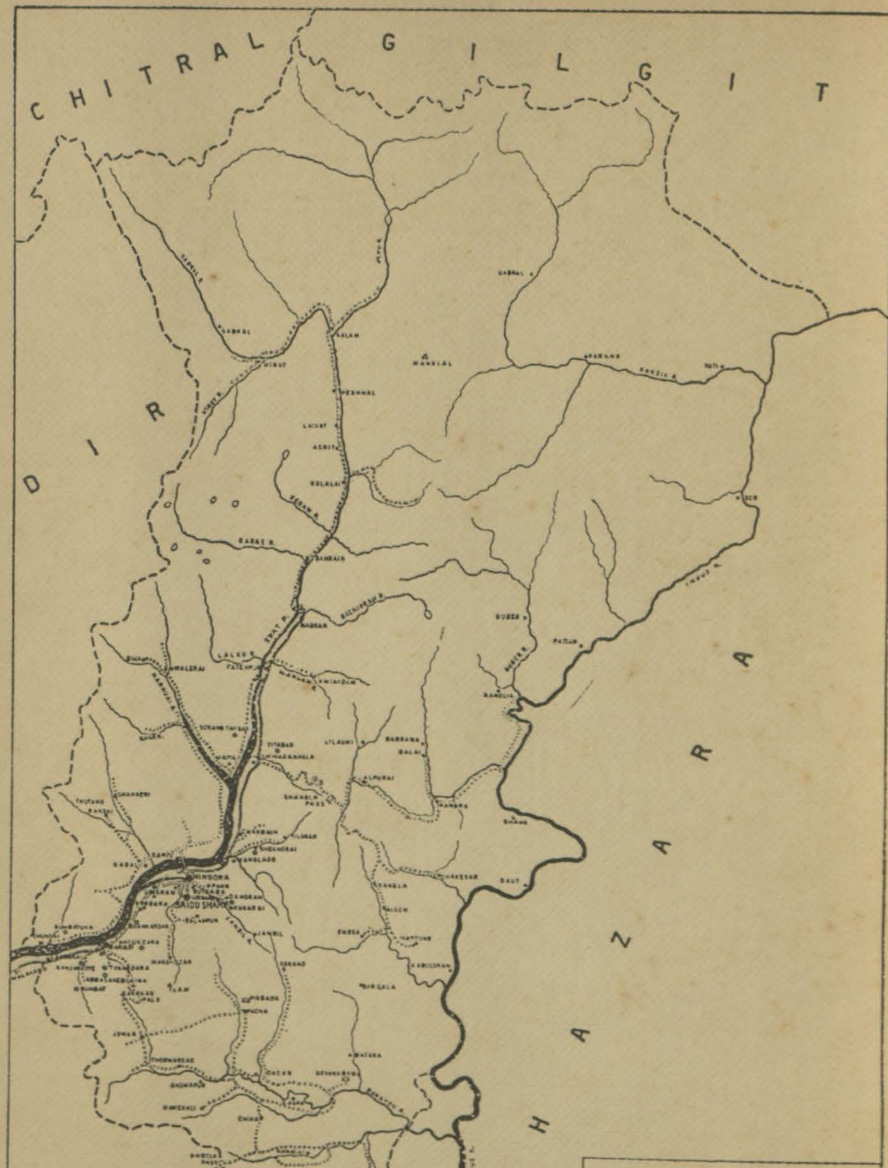
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN
and
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

DOMENICO FACCENNA

A Guide to the Excavations in Swat (Pakistan) 1956-1962

ROMA 1964


CHITRAL
GILGIT
DIR
HAZARA
MARDAN
SWAT
SKETCH MAP
SITES EXCAVATED BY THE ITALIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION
ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES
METALLED ROADS
UNMETALLED ROADS

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN
and
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE

DOMENICO FACCENNA

A Guide to the Excavations in Swat (Pakistan) 1956-1962

ROMA 1964

Scuola Grafica Salesiana - Roma

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

Swat, called in Sanskrit Uḍḍiyāna, from the historical and cultural point of view is one of the most important countries of the subcontinent. On a primitive ethnical element of which very little is so far known – it is worthy of notice that paleolithic implements have been found – there were superimposed settlements of the Indo-Iranian group. Whether this penetration came into two successive waves or in a single one, is to be ascertained by further excavation. It is certain that Alexander the Great penetrated into Swat as far as Udegram (327 B. C.) and possibly even further.

At the end of the Maurya period (c. 324 – c. 185 B. C.) there is every reason to believe that Buddhism began to spread in Swat, without completely superseding the original belief of the settlers, traders, agriculturists as well as seminomadic shepherds. Swat acquired a great importance during the Indo–Greek (2nd half third cent. B. C. – c. 85 B. C.), the Śaka–Parthian (end 1st cent. B. C. – 2nd half 1st cent. A. D.) and the Kuṣāṇa periods (1st cent. A. D. – 3rd cent. A. D.). The Kuṣāṇa rule coincided with the highest flourishing of Buddhism and culture: there developed in Swat peculiar trends of Gandhara art in which we can trace the coexistence of many components – Hellenistic, Iranian, Central–Asian, Indian – although amalgamated on account of peculiar local inclinations.

Then between the 6th and the 7th centuries there befell some calamities, probably floods, which impoverished the country and caused the decay of the Buddhist centres and monuments. The aboriginal cults took the upperhand and pervaded Buddhism: the tendency towards magic, for which the country was famous, increased. The Diamond–Vehicle (Vajrayāna) – the last form of Buddhism – acquired a great vogue; we have reason to argue that many Vajrayanic books were written in Swat. This form of Buddhism was prevalent in the country when Padmasambhava, a great Buddhist Tantric thaumaturge, was invited to Tibet to assist the king of Tibet in the foundation of the great temple of Samye (8th cent. A. D.). Thus Swat became a kind of holy land for the Tibetans eager to go on a pilgrimage to a country where one of the most revered masters of this lore was born.

Mahmud of Ghazni (997–1030) then conquered the country: so did Alauddin (12th cent.). After that, the further history of the country is little known; it was ruled by the Jahangiris; was then conquered by the Yusufzani and stubbornly resisted from the time of Akbar all attempts at invasion.

It is due to the political wisdom, and the military capabilities of H. H. Miangul Gul Shahzada, that Swat has become a State and has enlarged its territory.

Many thousands of years of history which were almost a blank, are now slowly being brought to light, through the cooperation of philologists and archaeologists.

* * *

As the President of IsMEO, which is sponsoring the excavations, and from which derives the *Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia*. I feel it my duty to acknowledge that the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan has constantly collaborated from the very beginning with the Italian Archaeological Mission: restorers, draftsmen, assistants, have all earnestly worked in team with the Members of the Italian Mission.

The archaeological campaigns in Swat have started in 1956, following an agreement — subsequently renewed in 1961 — established between the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, and the Italian Institute for Cultural Relations between Italy and Asia (IsMEO), and signed by Dr. F. A. Khan, Director of the A. D., and myself.

Archaeological researches in Swat are therefore to be considered as the result of a fruitful co-operation between the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, and the Italian Institute for Cultural Relations between Italy and Asia (IsMEO), that aims at revealing the great historical significance of one of Asia's most important countries with regard to the contribution it has brought to culture, and to the richness of its artistic output.

I seize with pleasure this opportunity for extending my thanks to the Ruler of Swat, Major-General Miangul Jahanzeb, and all the Authorities of Swat State, for their unfailing kindness and support.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI

INTRODUCTION

Swat is a centre of great archaeological importance rich in extensive remains of past civilizations. It was first described by Sir A. Stein; later, E. Barger and Ph. Wright carried out a number of excavations devoted to limited areas. After a detailed examination of the literary sources and a survey on the ground, Prof. G. Tucci began a fresh study on the complex problems involved, and selected the two excavation sites of Udegram and Butkara (Mingora) (see Bibliography).

In 1956 the Italian Archaeological Mission began excavations at Butkara I and Udegram "Bazar" and, during the campaigns, the work was extended to include areas near Gogdara, Udegram "Castle" Panr, Butkara II, Loebanr and Katelai. This work is framed within a historical picture, that is enlarged every year, in which various paths of research have been logically correlated to produce a continuous crop of fresh material and chronological evidence, that increase our knowledge of the history and cultural development of the area from the prehistoric and protohistoric era down to the Moslem period. A visit to the excavations and the Museum will bring this picture to life in all its complexity.

The results of the work have appeared in the excavation reports, in articles published in local, national and international magazines as well as in a series of *Reports and Memoirs*.

The aspects that are of interest to the general public have been shown in a number of exhibitions.

Throughout the excavation work the Italian Mission has availed itself of the wholehearted collaboration of the Archaeological Department under the direction of Dr. F. A. Khan, of its scientific and executive staff, and of its trained workmen, and continues to benefit by it. Moreover, while the work of the Mission during the course of the excavations was limited to the initial consolidation of the walls and

decorative features (stucco, plaster, paintings etc.), the Archaeological Department undertook the subsidiary task of preserving and restoring the monuments. The restoration of the " Castle " at Udegram by technicians and workmen of the Archaeological Department under the supervision of Prof. G. Gullini cemented the spirit of collaboration.

The Mission has at all times enjoyed every facility, aimed at ensuring a safe and speedy completion of the work in a spirit of cordial friendship and an enviable atmosphere of undisturbed mutual understanding.

The Wali Sahib of Swat, Major General Miangul Jahanzeb, and the Waliaht Aurangzeb never failed to extend their help to the Mission in every possible way while the local officials, and in particular the Chief Secretary of Swat, Mr. Ataullah Khan, have provided us with every comfort during our work. For our part, we have gained a good understanding of the local workmen at the excavations, while they themselves have become proficient over the years. To all of them we would like to express our deep debt of gratitude.

* * *

The present guide is obviously linked to the actual progress of the excavations and to our ever-widening knowledge of the cultural history of the region.

* * *

Excavations have been started in the " Bazar " in 1956, in the " Castle " in 1957, at the Gogdara carvings in 1958, at Gogdara, inhabited area, in 1960.

The following persons have taken part in the excavation, under the direction of Prof. G. Gullini: Dr. U. Scerrato (Gogdara, 1959), Dr. N. Bonacasa (Gogdara, 1958), Prof. (Miss) L. Boccaccio (Gogdara, 1960), Dr. (M'ss) M. Bagnasco (" Bazar ", 1960), Mr. M. Valentini, assistant (" Castle ", 1957-59; Gogdara, 1960), Mr. G. Graziani, assistant (" Bazar ", 1956-1960), Miss F. Bonardi, photographer (1956-59), Miss F. Callori di Vignale, restorer (1959).

Collaborators from the Department of Archaeology in Pakistan: Mr. M. Akba Khan (1958-60), assistant; Mr. Qamarud-Din, restorer (1959); Mr. M. A. Siraj (1957), Abdul Ghafoor (1958), draftsmen; team of masons from Taxila (1958-59).

Other collaborators: Mr. Ijaz Ahmad (1958-90), draftsman; Mr. Farid Khan (Gogdara, 1960) of the University of Peshawar.

Aide on the field: Talimand, from the village of Udegram.

Excavations have been started at Butkara I in 1956, at Panr in 1959, at Butkara II in 1961, at Loebanr and Katelai in 1962.

The following persons have taken part in the excavation, under the direction of Dr. D. Faccenna: Dr. M. Taddei (Butkara I, Butkara II, 1958-61), Dr. (Miss) F. Scafile (Butkara I, 1960), Dr. (Miss) Ch. Silvi Antonini (Loebanr, Katelai, 1962), Prof. V. Caroli, draftsman and assistant (1956-1962), Miss F. Bonardi, photographer (1956-1962), Miss F. Callori di Vignale, restorer (1959-1962).

Collaborators from the Department of Archaeology in Pakistan: Mr. M. Harunur-Rashid (Butkara I, 1956), Mr. Ahmad Nabi Khan (Panr, 1959), Mr. Mohammad Sharif (Butkara II, 1961), Mr. Ihsan H. Nadiem (Panr, 1962), Mr. M. Akbar Khan (Butkara I, 1958-62), assistants; Mr. Qamarud-Din (1957-59), Mr. A. Qayyum (1959), Mr. Syed Mohammad (1959), restorers; Mr. Abdul Aziz Qureshi (1957), draftsman; team of masons from Taxila (1959).

Aide on the field: Abdul Ghafoor, supervisor of the Archaeological Department.

FROM PESHAWAR TO SWAT

One can reach Swat from Peshawar either along the Malakand pass via Charsada or Mardan, or by a longer route across Buner through Mardan, the Ambela and Karakar passes, descending directly to Barikot. The normal route runs through Malakand.

Leaving the plain with the village of Sahri-Bahlol to the left and the isolated massif of Takht-i-Bahi to the right, one climbs by a series of narrow curves along the flanks of the rocky foothills. Beyond the pass the pleasant valley of Swat unfolds before one's eyes.

The shady road runs along the river, and the ruins of towns and monuments begin to show up at frequent intervals. Leaving to the left the road to Dir which crosses the Chakdarra bridge, at Landakai one reaches the boundary of the state of Swat. A little farther on, one arrives at the important communication centre of Barikot, the site of the ancient Bazira — in a local inscription called Vajirasthāna — sacked by Alexander the Great, where the road is joined by the other already mentioned from Buner. Wherever one turns about in the neighbourhood, one sees important ruins half hidden in the valleys that radiate from this point. The next stage of the journey brings us to Udegram.

UDEGRAM [1]

After leaving the village of Gogdara to the right of the road, one reaches a plain resembling a broad depression, shut in by the steep slopes of Rāja Gira (fig. 1). The area is dominated by one of the excavation sites, the " Castle ", which lies half way up a rocky spur in the middle of the plain. From it an extensive wall-circuit climbs up the ridge crest, and curves down again availing itself of the rocky crags. In so doing it encloses the remains of the structures that divide the tangled mass of dark green undergrowth into step-like terraces.

At the foot of the hill between a Moslem cemetery and the main road (beyond which lies the present village of Udegram) another excavation is in progress. It has revealed part of an inhabited site, generally by us termed the " Bazar ". A short distance away a third excavation is gradually revealing yet another inhabited centre, that spreads at the foot of the spur which encloses the plain to the south and on its eastern slopes. It takes its name from the neighbouring village of Gogdara.

On the crest of this spur in front of the road, the face of the rock (schist) carries protohistoric *graffiti*.

Remains from successive periods stretching across thousands of years are thus to be found enclosed within the area of the vale.

The material ranges from protohistoric times down to the present day, including the epoch of Alexander the Great who marched into this region from Afghanistan, to protect the rear of his army before undertaking the conquest of India (Udegram is the *Ora* of Arrian's account). The passage of time saw the oncoming of the Kuṣāṇa, as well as the Sasanid, Ephthalite and Moslem periods, when another

---

[1] The account of the Udegram excavations is of course completely based upon the studies of Prof. G. Tucci and Prof. G. Gullini, which have already been published (see Bibliography).

great conqueror — Mahmud of Ghazni — captured the "Castle" in the 11th century and firmly established the rule of Islam.

The excavations, undertaken in the vital centres, present a unitary value with their stratigraphic correlation, and thus serve to date the important events in the long history of the site.

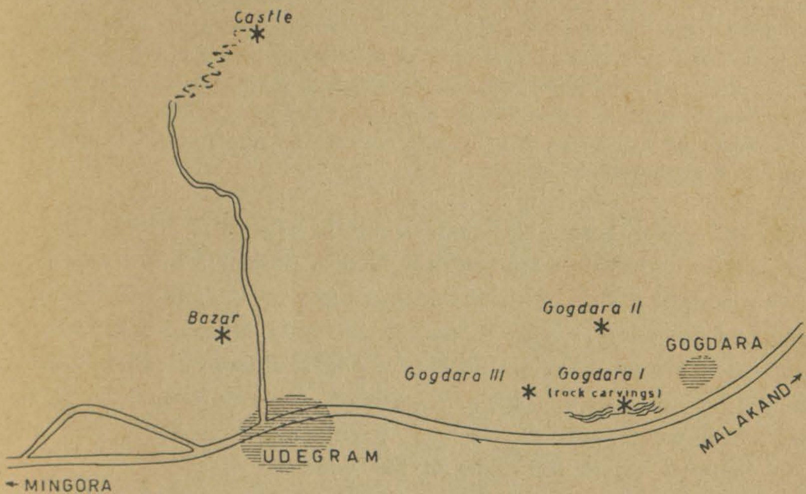


Fig. 1 – UDEGRAM– Sketch map showing the sites excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission.

* * *

The visit begins with

GOGDARA: THE ROCK CARVINGS

Low down on the far tip of the ridge, topped on the right by a statue of Buddha, there rises a cliff which stands over five metres high, cleared almost in its entirety by a single trench. As if laid out on a large sheet, there are scattered on its face, more or less clustered together, a great number of *graffiti*, which may be more accurately termed carvings, on account of the depth of the engraving: other examples are

to be seen in the neighbouring area. Their subject matter is fairly constant: except for one depicting a tree, all of them are representations of animals: leopard, ibex, zebu, oxen yoked to a wagon, bull?, horse?, antelope? and fish? (pl. I).

The size of the carving varies greatly, the outline being shown either by a continuous line or, less frequently, by a series of dots. Their shape is left more or less schematic; the body appears sometimes as a rectangle whose inside is carved in various forms of criss-cross, sometimes as two triangles joined at the top and filled with dots. The tails of some animals end in a spiral. An especially interesting item is an animal enclosed in a square at the top of a vertical spear. Differences of subject, treatment and style allow us to classify the carvings into groups belonging to a variety of artists and periods.

The figures themselves share a certain general resemblance to the decorative repertoire of Iranian protohistoric pottery; we can now tentatively suggest a date, from the end of the second to the beginning of the first millenium. But we have to wait until future excavation shall yield new elements for establishing a precise datation. Unfortunately it was not possible to trace any associated level or levels because they have been disturbed and destroyed by landslides from above, and alluvial deposits left in the wake of the floods.

* * *

Two hundred metres eastwards on the slopes of the same spur lies the excavation site of

GOGDARA: INHABITED AREA

The excavation, which is still in its very early stages, has revealed a section of an inhabited site showing evidence of extensive destruction and subsequent rebuilding. The whole level of the site has risen with the repeated superimposition of occupation levels, which at times preserve and at other times alter the previous wall alignment. Among the upper levels one can easily trace the perimeter of the buildings and

the rooms connected with the various aspects of domestic life: the approaches to public passageways, streets and squares, the hearths, wells and outside drains etc.

One can see a larger and more complete example of such a town plan at the so-called " Bazar ".

Below the mass of superimposed walls, which appear to grow in number, lies the oldest level with clay floors. On the basis of the pottery — judging from the first results — the life of this centre seems to stretch backwards from the Parthian period to about the 12th-11th century B. C.

* * *

A little further on in the centre of the plain, between a Moslem cemetery and the road to Mingora, lies the excavation site of

UDEGRAM: "BAZAR"

The very first trenches have revealed a quarter of a large town-site in which part of the street layout, a square and streets leading to individual groups of houses, have all been traced. The many superimposed levels reflect the eventful life of the town. This is made clear by the destruction and re-building of houses and streets. Sometimes the process involved the re-use of what remained from the previous period, at other times it produced a confused tangle of structures that defy analysis. The destruction of the site must be assigned to natural causes, in particular to periodic catastrophic flooding.

The chronological phases in the life of this town are established with certainty. " Altogether seven levels related to seven historical phases have been identified. This was made possible by the great quantity of finds. Of these the most important comprise hundreds of coins or punch-marked coins spread throughout the various strata, and their identification has fixed a precise absolute chronology. In this way it has been possible to establish that the undermost level is contemporary with Alexander the Great — a potsherd with Greek characters, of the 4th century B. C. has been found there — and the Maurya empire.

These are followed by the periods related to the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian dynasties. The three upper levels belong to the centuries which saw the growth of the Kuṣāṇa empire and the oncoming of the Sasanians. After these, the life of Udegram " Bazar " seems to have ceased.

The results so far attained are full of important implications throughout the whole range of the finds, especially with regard to pottery, in the types of everyday coarse wares. This is obviously the kind of objects most frequently found in association with archaeological excavations and a safe classification offers valuable elements for an absolute chronology. One may say, indeed, that the most important single result of the excavation of lower Udegram lies in the classification of the pottery now in hand. This is based on the location of individual sherds within the various occupation levels and the relative chronology of the various changes in technique, shape and decoration " (G. Gullini).

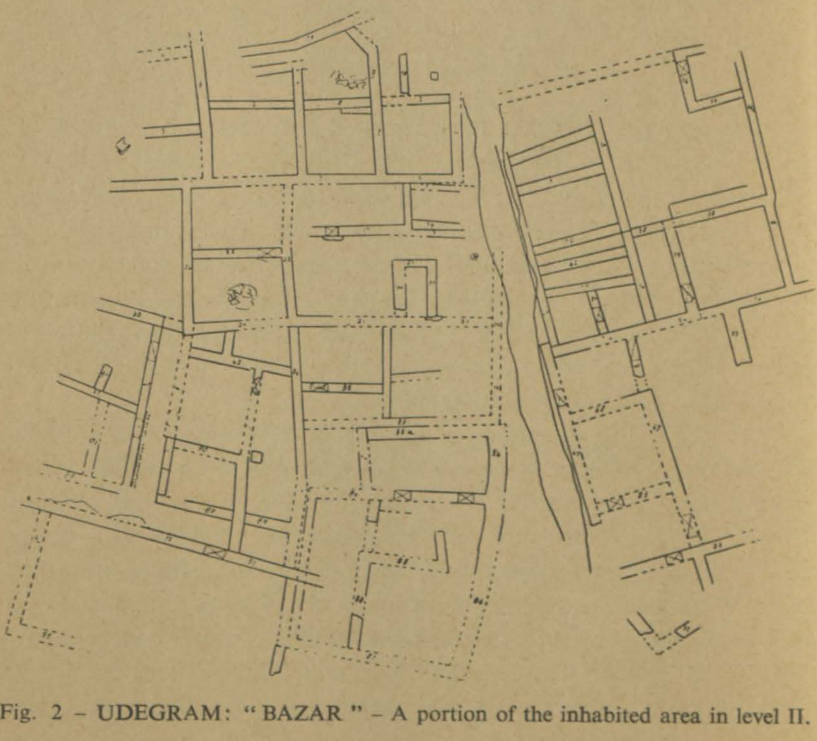


Fig. 2 - UDEGRAM: " BAZAR " - A portion of the inhabited area in level II.

The life of this town stretches from the end of the fourth century B. C. down to the fourth century A. D. At the end of this period the difficulties arising from natural conditions and above all the insecurity of the area led the population to withdraw onto the slopes of the mountain that rises from the edge of the valley. A curvilinear structure found in the north-western corner of the excavations and lying beyond the latest houses, as well as the street associated with them offers evidence of a final, limited occupation. The complex comprises a kind of platform in the middle of which a rectangular foundation includes along one of its sides an elongated, river-washed block of stone, set in the ground and probably belonging to the cult dedicated to the Mother Goddess or Śiva.

In this excavation one gains a detailed knowledge of the structure of a town or, better still, the structures of several towns, each one assignable to different historical periods.

Included in the area are streets and houses whose plans are for the most part traceable in more recent, overlying levels (fig. 2, pls. II, III). "The roads are of beaten earth sometimes paved with fragments of schist driven into holes in the ground; any subsequent gaps were then plugged with clay or broken tiles (pl. IV). Each block of buildings may be divided into two zones, one for the houses, the other for the shops. The latter are sometimes aligned in a series alongside a street, sometimes standing by themselves. They occur with such frequency, however, that it seemed convenient to term the whole excavated area the shopping quarter, or "Bazar" (G. Gullini). The shops follow a rectangular plan with a small room to the rear. The dwelling-houses, on the other hand, appear as a series of rooms grouped round a courtyard set in a more or less central position. This is the typical house-plan, and one can admire an example of it in a dwelling house on the north-eastern side of the excavations, where in the open court there stands a basin made of schist slabs, carefully carved and joined together.

Walking through the excavation site, and visiting each individual group of buildings or rooms one can trace the edge of the superimposed levels. The walls, which often rest on poor foundations, are built of schist blocks, have pebble-facing on both sides, and the whole is bound together with clay. Technique changes from period to period, so that one can trace its development, and attain to a rudimentary chronology. At times the style achieved a very precise and regular effect. Clay was also used as the alternate building material. The beams of the roof, none of which survives, must have been of wood, and in the more spacious rooms these were supported by wooden columns and pilasters. One can see the place on which they were set at ground level: a large slab at the top of a cylindrical pier, sunk more or

less deeply, built of schist and stone. Other wooden features were present in the doors, where the empty slots of the door jambs have been preserved. The floors consist mainly of clay and beaten earth; blocks of schist were occasionally laid over the areas most in use, such as the doorways, and in a few rare instances the whole floor was paved. In the various rooms that reflect different aspects of domestic life, one can recognize small benches or hearths stained with reddened earth and ashes, sometimes pots set into the floor (pl. IV).

There is also a straight-sided basin set in the ground, whose overflow drains carry the water outside through the walls, mainly on to the street. In places there are lenghts of twisting drains of larger capacity, while one can also see the mouth of a well covered by a stone slab. The wells themselves were cut in the clayey subsoil in the shape of a large *fiasco* and only the well-head, whether circular or square, was actually built of masonry.

* * *

Leaving the lower town and climbing the steep slopes of the hill one reaches the most recent excavation site, conventionally called

UDEGRAM: " CASTLE "

These impressive ruins occupy a rocky spur commanding a large area of the valley below (fig. 3, pl. V). " The semi-circular buttresses of the supporting wall give the structure a turreted appearance, which explains the origin of the name " Castle ". At the same time the imposing size of the building and, even more, the superimposition of structural phases that clearly belong to different periods support the impression that we have here a public building, if not the seat of the lord of the area, at least of one of his lieutenants. The layout of the building derives advantage from the rocky spur which juts out from the sloping hillside, by enlarging the available building space with a series of supports. Their structural differences testify to the long life of the building.

A monumental staircase — which also belongs to more than one period — leads into the central nucleus of the building where there are a large number of rooms separated by corridors, designed to overcome

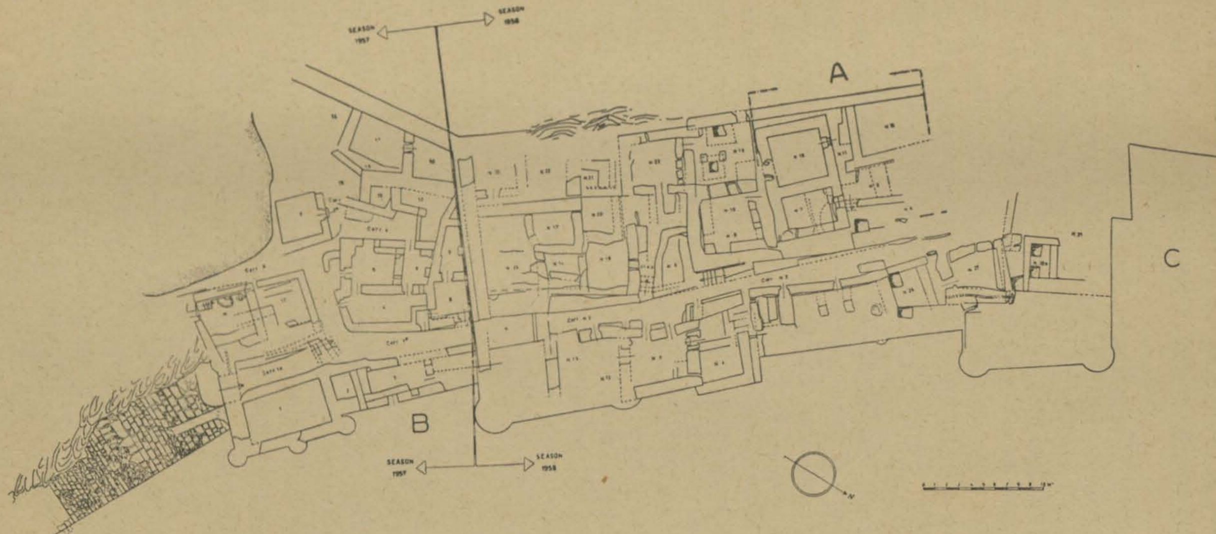


Fig. 3 – UDEGRAM: " CASTLE " – Plan of the excavation in 1958.

the difficulties arising from the natural changes in level. Altogether, excavations have uncovered about a third of the whole building which extends over an area of approximately a hectare (over two acres).

Archaeological exploration began at the entrance associated with the staircase, lying next to an area that belongs to a fairly early period and is comparatively free from buildings. It forms a kind of large vestibule, later occupied by service rooms and directly linked to one of the quarters of the upper town close to one of the gates in the wall circuit mentioned above (pl. VI).

This brings us to the area that was recognized as the central nucleus, in which a number of fairly substantial rooms looking towards the valley has been built on imposing buttressing. A second level has been even added where the natural profile of the hillside allowed it.

In this case the different structural periods have been identified. Their large number is the result of a highly complicated stratigraphy. To appreciate this, one has only to realize that twenty different periods have so far been identified. I say 'so far' because — apart from a period of vertically superimposed levels which saw the constant re-use of earlier foundations — there also exist features that follow what one might call a concentric plan. This is the result of continuous attempts to increase the amount of space available by enlarging the perimeter of the outside wall. In this way, the early buildings occur not only inside the whole complex but also below it, and up to the present time it has not been possible to uncover them.

The nature of the ground, the fragile state of the structures and their extreme complexity demand that the excavation be carried out with great caution. All this involves the individual consolidation and restoration of each feature brought to light, for fear of dooming it to immediate destruction.

The work of excavation is thus accompanied by the difficult but nonetheless imperative task of restoration. It is further complicated by the structure of the walls, which are built of unmortared fragments of schist; the lack of a binding agent therefore makes them liable to succumb to excessive weathering.

The discovery of coins has made it possible to establish a fairly accurate chronology also in this stratigraphical series. The lowest levels belong to the Sasanian and Kuṣāṇa periods, as early as the second century A. D. One cannot therefore preclude the possibility that the deepest levels in the interior go back as far as the Indo-Greek period following Alexander's conquests" (G. Gullini).

As it appears today, the picture begins with the abandonment of the lower area as an habitation site towards the end of the fifth century

A. D. Nevertheless the majority of these buildings must be dated between the seventh and tenth centuries A. D. The grand stairway, which is one of the " Castle's " unique and most impressive features, belongs to the latest phase of this period.

The citadel was finally conquered by Mahmud of Ghazni (11th cent. A.D), as is proved by the coins as well as by the fragments of the glazed pottery characteristic of the period. The upper occupation levels belong to this period of Moslem domination, when settlement in the area continued at a modest rate. After the temporary return of a Buddhist community — whose presence is attested by a fragment of a Buddhist image — this brings us to the 13th and 14th centuries.

* * *

MINGORA

THE VALLEY OF JAMBIL

Returning to the road, one reaches Mingora, the most flourishing and lively commercial centre of the State. The town lies in a broad plain at the junction of the Saidu and Jambil valleys. These two lateral valleys follow courses from north to south and south to east respectively, and are separated by a chain of mountains. The two rivers unite at the height of Mingora and then flow into Swat as a single stream. The Jambil valley forms a special section of the Mission's archaeological work (fig. 4). It comprises the sites of the excavations at Butkara I, Butkara II, Panr and Loebanr; further excavations will follow, as the valley, with its large collection of documents from different periods, offers suitable conditions for the solution of a variety of problems.

The winding valley sometimes narrows into a gorge, sometimes broadens into small plains; it is hemmed in by mountain ranges, whose sharp sides plunge downwards to divide the region in a number of natural pockets. The lower mountain slopes are covered by a band of sand and clay that is stepped in terraces and deeply bitten into by streams.

Leaving Mingora along the left bank of the river, one reaches the ruins of Butkara I, lying in the plain. The remains are seen in section, as it were, along the deeply eroded banks of the river as far as the densely packed buildings of the Sacred Precinct and the rock sculpture. A mile further up the left bank, close to the mountains, lies the necropolis of Butkara II, cut into the clay terraces, with the overlying buildings and a Buddhist Sacred Precinct.

Next, having passed round a cone-shaped mountain (which in effect marks the division between the middle and lower sections of the valley) and leaving behind the village of Loebanr, one reaches the cemetery by the same name, which shares the same characteristics as the one of Butkara II.

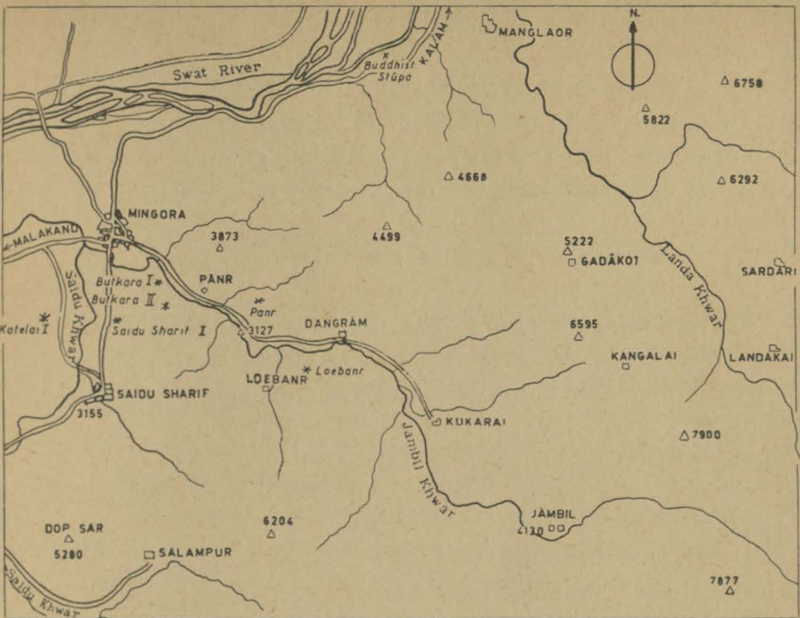


Fig. 4 – JAMBIL VALLEY – Sketch map showing sites excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission.

The Buddhist Sacred Precinct at Panr lies in front of the cemetery at Butkara II, on the right of the river, set back among the terraces.

These are the points where excavation is now in progress. Along both banks of the river, however, there stands an almost uninterrupted succession of ruins, which form a chain of sites ending with the great mound beside the village of Kokarai; on the left bank we have the stūpas of Shararai (or Arapkhanchina), Loebanr, and the impressive example at Gerjulai; on the right, the stūpas of Barama, Panr, Shingharai and Garasa near Dangram. Everywhere along the terraces or at the foot of the smaller valleys one finds mounds, stelae, rock-cut reliefs with the figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (chiefly Lokeśvara), the remains of inhabited sites and grave stones. Altogether they offer abundant evidence of human life and religious faith throughout a number of pe-

riods, and a detailed archaeological map of the area is now in perparation.

The valley continues along its narrow course beyond Kokarai. A mule track leads to the village of Jambil, reaching first the Gokand pass, and then Buner and the plain of the Indus: it is a short and direct course, as compared with the other north-south routes.

* * *

Leaving Mingora by the road that goes up the Jambil valley, one soon arrives at the site of the excavations of Butkara I, which are reached by turning right across the fields and crossing the river on a stone path.

BUTKARA I

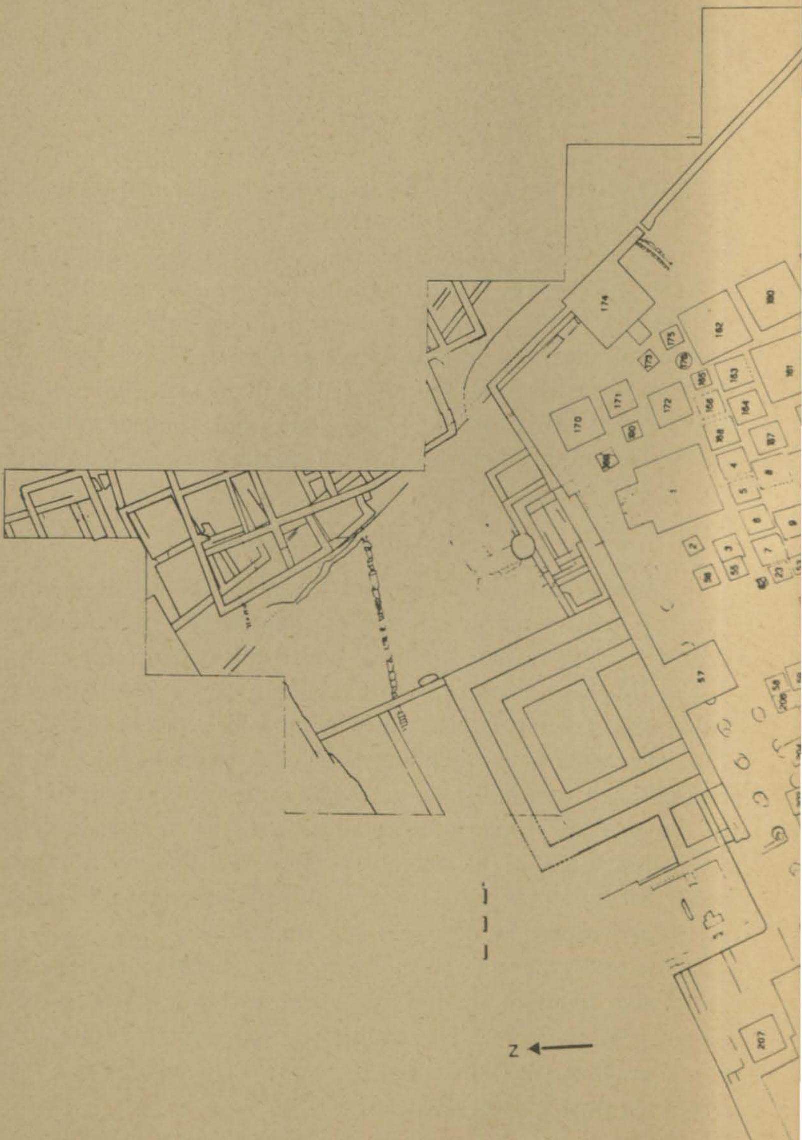
THE SACRED PRECINCT

We enter next into the Sacred Precinct, noticing that its boundaries form an irregular four-sided enclosure. The Precinct, paved with slabs of schist, is dominated by the Great Stūpa (G. St.) rising in the centre: circular in plan, the latter is surrounded by an ambulacrum (pradakṣiṇapatha = PR.). Around the Great Stūpa there stands on every side a mass of stūpas of various shapes and sizes, vihāras and columns — 215 in all. Excavation has revealed the many vicissitudes of destruction and reconstruction, caused by earthquakes and other natural events, which have changed the appearance of the complex over the centuries (fig. 5, pl. XVII).

THE GREAT STŪPA

We had better begin the visit to the G. St. by entering the ambulacrum. The five reconstructions give a general idea of its history (fig. 6). The other stūpas were gradually added to the perimetre of the original Great Stūpa, thus making it increasingly larger and more impressive. Meanwhile, the receptacle which housed the relics — enclosed as it is in the oldest part of the building — is seen to be the permanent focus of an unbroken continuity of religious faith. To the religious importanc of the monument may now be added the further interest derived from an investigation of its actual structure: an undoubtedly attested sequence of buildings placed one within the other has illustrated a highly significant evolution of forms and techniques.

The splendour of the monument has been sadly impaired by the destructive hand of man: it provided building material for the new town of Mingora, and in addition people were always attracted by the hope of its yielding buried treasures. The situation, however, simplified the problems of excavation.



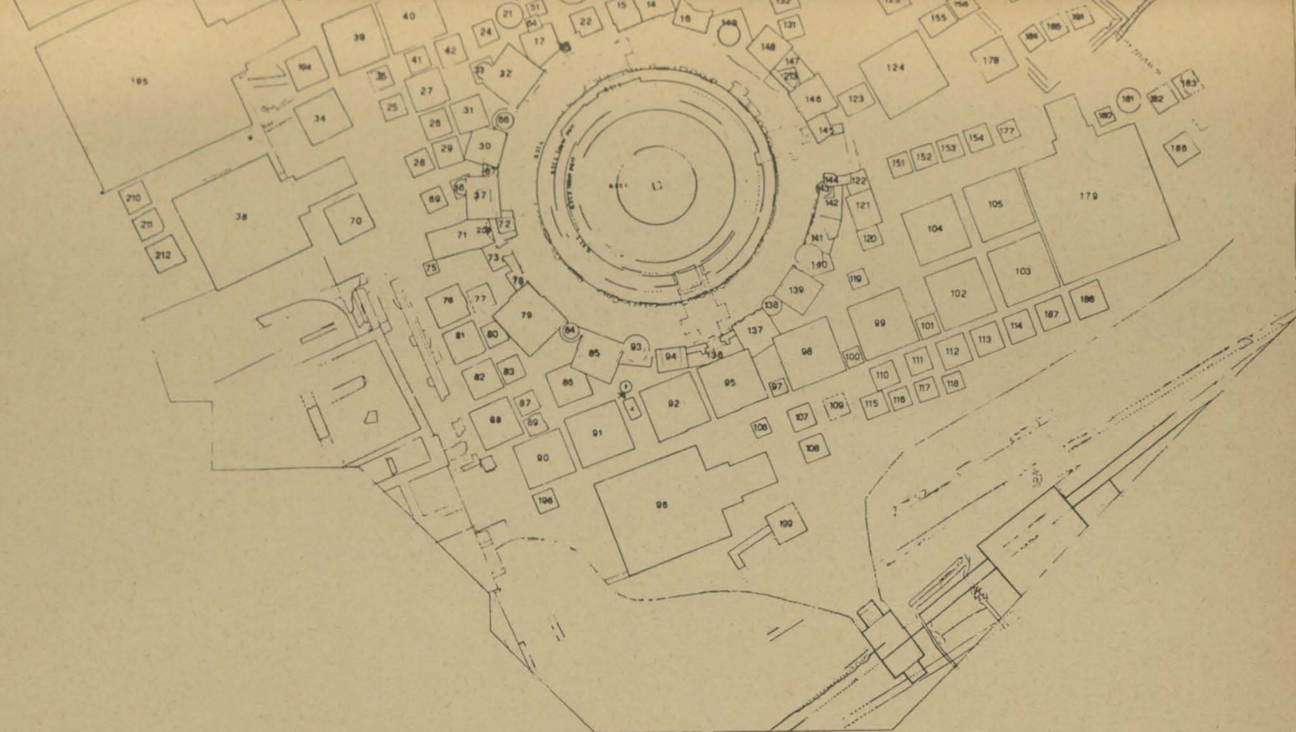


Fig. 5 – BUTKARA I – Plan of the Sacred Precinct and inhabited area.

From the south-west the building is seen in section. Beginning from the centre we first turn our attention to *G. St. 1*, the oldest stūpa. This encloses a further construction, having a wall of broken pebbles and flakes of schist: the texture of the wall is thus wholly irregular. The face that is visible is unplastered and flat, being totally devoid of any projection or other architectural features. There are no foundation courses: from the ground on which it is set, the wall rises towards the centre in a curve that is at first gradual and subsequently sharper, thus governing the extent of the arc of the dome. The diameter of the base measures 6 m.: the height of the best preserved portion is 4.70 m.

The nucleus, built mainly of medium-sized and small pebbles, contains the room which housed the relics; this has unfortunately been plundered, and now is entirely bare. The room comes into alignment with the axis of the nucleus, which is the same as that of this stūpa and all the subsequent ones. The sides are made either of schist slabs or of pebbles, measuring 0.54 by 0.63 m. for a depth of 0.44 m. The slab which formed the lid has not been preserved.

Outside the building the ground level, already lower than inside, slopes sharply downwards in a kind of ramp 0.35 to 0.40 m. deep, and then follows a gentler inclination.

In this depression the external building of G. St. 1 was erected, enclosing the internal building by means of a wall made of pebbles arranged in circular patterns at various levels of the lower section. Above it is a section faced with rough slabs of schist bound in by an adhesive consisting of pure yellow-brown soil.

The base of the dome measures 11.44 m. in diameter. It consists first of an undecorated lower section, slightly expanded and with a recess at the top. Above it, set on a slight overhang, rises the broad and majestic curve of the dome itself, constructed of long blocks of blue-black schist, shaped like parallelepipeds: they are laid as free-standing stretchers. On the south side it is possible to examine a good stretch of the wall, and to reconstruct the stages of the shaping of the blocks in the façade. The work was begun before the blocks were laid, and finished when they were in position, in order to ensure a perfectly smooth surface with all the blocks fitting together exactly. In fact, this side of the wall presents an unbroken surface of smooth brown rock.

The lower part of the wall, on the other hand, is very different: it is made of pebbles, fragments of schist slabs and shapeless flakes, and has a rough and irregular surface. This face is not plastered, and was not meant to be seen. Very probably it was surrounded by a tumulus, a part of which remains in the mass of stones and pebbles behind the circle of G. St. 2, along with a stucco cover on a level with the base of the dome. A section through this is seen in the south face. On this level too is the first layer of plaster on the surface of the dome; 0.25 m. above it there is another layer of stucco and a new coat of plaster, unpainted like the first one. Nothing remains of the apex of the dome, nor of any decoration it may have had, whether painted or not. The original form of this stūpa — a dome rising off a mound — is highly significant as regards the evolution of this class of monument. It must, however

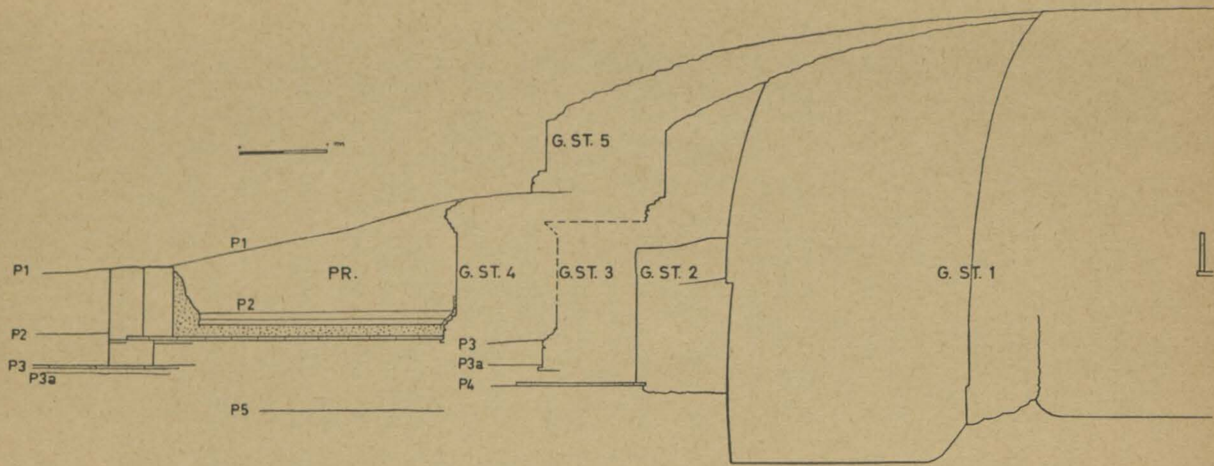


Fig. 6 – BUTKARA I – Sacred Precinct: section of the Great Stūpa.

have been modified when the mound was cut down and enclosed within a ring-wall.

The construction of G. St. 1, which starts the history of the shrine, can be dated to the 3rd century B. C. on the evidence of a coin of Candragupta Maurya, found near the wall in the eastern sector of the mound, 0.20 m. below the overhang at the base of the dome. Although the value of this type of evidence can only be relative, the dating is in this particular case borne out by other factors, and by sound statistical data.

G. St. 2 was subsequently built. It consists of a plain, undecorated circle built out of blocks of schist in a manner similar to that employed in the construction of the dome. However, the blocks were not cut so carefully, neither do they fit together so well. The diameter is 13,44 m., the height, as far as it is preserved, is 1,55 m. A layer of stucco, the third one, connects it to this same dome, covered now with a third coat of plaster. Finally the ring-wall was raised: at the same time the fourth layer of plaster was added to it and to the dome.

The new stūpa is made up of two superimposed elements, a cylinder and a hemisphere, joined the one to the other.

The smooth wall-surface of this circle was covered with a layer of plaster, of which some traces are still visible, pinkish-red in colour. In addition, four niches, destined to contain statues, were chiselled out of the wall at each of the four points of the compass.

The west and east niches are 1.90 and 1.75 m. wide respectively, corresponding in height to the one of the base-course of the circle wall itself. The south niche is 1.70 m. wide, and it is preserved to a height of 1.15 m. [1] While the two former ones were filled in and covered with a layer of crude plaster which extends further up the circular wall, the third is complicated by the addition of two projections in front. The first and smaller of these is shaped like a podium and is related to the base of the niche and also to the reconstruction of the ring-wall. The second and larger projection, which covers the first, was added after the second coat of plaster. A piece of its projecting base, which is all that remains, is cut by the wall-face of G. St. 2 and G. St. 3. It is decorated with mouldings (cavetto, torus, plinth) (Ht. 0.50 m.) executed in slabs of schist and covered by further coats of plaster, one of which shows traces of pink colouring.

A coin of Menander was found between the first and second projections. We may therefore date the final phase of G. St. 2 with a fair degree of accuracy to some time towards the end of the second and the beginning of the first century B. C. Relatively, its actual construction lies between this period and that of G. St. 1.

In the gradual evolution of stūpa-architecture, G. St. 2 with its cylindrical base, its niches, its projections and mouldings, represents a significant stage on the way to the type which was at the time exemplified by:

---

[1] It is impossible to investigate the north niche because of the structures that overlie it. By reasons of symmetry, however, one is led to assume its existence.

G. St. 3. This is divided into two superimposed parts of a similar circular plan, the upper one being set back slightly in respect to the lower one. Their diameters measure 15.18 and 12.84 m., respectively. A dome must further have rested on top of them.

The remains are unfortunately limited to the lower section resting on projecting slabs of schist; the lower structure is preserved to a maximum height of 0.86 m. and can be reconstructed to a height of 1.85 m. The upper features stand to a maximum height of 1.11 m. on the east side.

The use of schist was abandoned; the building material is now soapstone, a fine soft stone whitish in colour. The blocks, more or less in the shape of long parallelepipeds, are carefully laid as a series of free-standing stretchers. Each block had a tail to the rear, to tie it into the mass behind. The wall is no longer smooth but is now decorated with upper and lower cornice-mouldings. The upper wall, which was originally plain, was — at least once — decorated by pilasters carved from the same blocks as the wall; of their bases and capitals, only the grooves still remain (height of a pilaster 0.80 m.; interval between pilasters 0.70 m.).

The chiselling of the pilasters, the packing at the base, and the numerous layers of stucco all serve to indicate the transformations undergone by the building. Some of the stucco layers preserve traces of pink colouring. One in particular (the tenth, counting from the outside, along the base of the east face of the upper structure) depicts a straight garland, crudely executed in red.

There are projections on the lower part of the wall at the four cardinal points: these are probably steps. Their width varies between 2.70 and 3 m., their breadth between 2 and 2.30 m. Their only remaining traces consist in the foundation courses, together with some rough slabs of schist, which had been removed from G. St. 4 and its pradakṣiṇapatha; excavation has shown that they were originally laid out in line underneath it, although they can no longer be seen there.

The method by which they were fastened to the stūpa itself can be seen very clearly on the south side, where the projection depends on the nucleus of the forepart of G. St. 2. We are unfortunately unable to say anything about the dome, the harmikā, or the apex. However, a substantial circular fragment of green schist, decorated with acanthus leaves, and a large umbrella, also of green schist, were found on top of the mound, possibly belonging to the stūpa. They are now to be found at the side of the excavated area.

In this stūpa, we have the first full and clear expression of that idea of a whole organic structure which was to remain fundamental in all future stūpa-building: it is characterized by two superimposed masses, and the full use of architectural mouldings, cornices and pilasters.

The circular plan of the stūpa at Butkara, together with the steps aligned on its axes, recalls the Dharmarājika stūpa at Taxila and the Manikyala stūpa near Rawalpindi. It is conceived as a harmonious whole, and its sophistication is matched by the use of a material, soapstone, which requires careful handling, and the acceptance of certain classical motifs. This important stage in the evolution of architecture cannot

be completely disassociated from a more wide-ranging phenomenon, still to be defined, which affected the country's cultural life no less than its economic and political history.

Within the plinth of column 135, contemporary with G. St. 3, a recess was found intact, slightly displaced northwards; it contained two schist reliquaries: one of which in turn contained a coin of Azes I in an excellent state of preservation.

The date of construction of G. St. 3 can thus be brought forward, with a certain degree of approximation, to a date at the end of the 1st century B.C. or the beginning of the 1st A.D. The collapse of G. St. 3, due to subsidence, caused its sides to fall outwards, as may be seen to the west. A new stūpa was then reconstructed, enclosing the previous ones in its nucleus of slabs and pebbles. Although rising higher, its foundation courses and ambulacrum are in fact based on the old levels beneath, which causes a sharp break in the continuity of the pavement of the Sacred Area.

This is *G. St. 4*: typologically this falls into the same class as G. St. 3, being composed of two superimposed masses, of which only the lower one (diameter 17.52; height 1.43) is preserved with its base-moulding (consisting of a cavetto, torus and plinth) and upper cornice (consisting of a cavetto, ovolo and fillet).

Like the last building, it is made of blocks of soapstone, but has no steps. Instead, it is surrounded by an ambulacrum on a level with the base course and at the same time raised above the surrounding Sacred Area.

The building can best be understood if we follow one by one the many vicissitudes which have gradually changed its appearance: destructions by natural forces such as earthquakes, reconstructions, renewals, and modifications occasioned either by the nature of the monument itself or by the changing needs and tastes of its users.

First Phase. In this, the original phase, the wall was smooth, and appears to have been covered with a thin layer of plaster (the first one) — some traces of painting still remain. There were also 16 niches in the wall: two of these were lost when the wall was renewed with slabs of schist on the west side, while the others are all visible wholly or in part, under successive layers of plaster, concealed by the bases laid for stucco statues or by sculptures — or else altered in appearance by having been made narrower, or even closed altogether.

The niches were put directly into the soapstone walls and their backs consisted of rough slabs of schist. Their height measures uniformly 0.90 m., their width varies between 0.69 m. (minimum) and 1.36 m. (maximum) and the distance between them between 1.77 and 2.80 m. In them were inserted large panels of green schist with representations of scenes from the life of the Buddha. The difference in width and height of these panels, along with the fact that some of them are joined to parts of decorative bands or cornices, lead to the assumption that all or nearly all of them were here re-used, rather than made for the purpose. In fact, apart from a few badly-preserved scraps, we have only half a relief from the northern niche: this represents the Buddha standing on a lotus-flower surrounded by three rows of divine beings, paying worship and clad in paridhāna and uttarīya.

Behind the upper half of each panel, enclosed within the core, there is a reliquary-recess; this placing on the perimeter is unusual in a stūpa. Some of the recesses on the east side were left visible, even when the building was reinforced. The recesses, either single or double, were made of slabs of schist, and contained coins and many other objects, such as beads of glass paste or hard stone, rings, fragments of crystal, gold bracteae, miniature reliquaries of silver or rock-crystal and scraps of coral. We have 107 coins in all, which is of course essential as far as the date of the building's foundation is concerned.

All around there runs the circuit of the ambulacrum: its average width measures 3.25 m., and it extends as far as the circle of columns between which it was built — that were related, as we shall see, to the preceding stūpa. The ambulacrum is supported on a wall of soapstone blocks (average height 0.30 m.); it is lined with stucco, and rests on the slab-floor of the Sacred Precinct — which in fact belongs, as we shall see, to the raised floor of G. St. 3, and was still in use in the early phase of the new stūpa.

Excavation has shown that the floor was made of black schist slabs, of which a number are seen at its edges.

At the four cardinal points, the ambulacrum has entrances in the form of projections (2.20-2.60 m. wide; 0.45-0.62 m. deep): these display, in a different form, the traditional motif already developed on these axes. These entrances are placed as follows: north entrance, between pilasters 65 and 68 and stūpas 16-17; west entrance, between columns 209 and 78; south entrance, between columns 93 and 138; east entrance, between columns 143 and 214. All the remaining portion must have been enclosed at the border by a balustrade, parts of which made of soapstone have been re-used in various parts of the buildings, which were gradually added on the edge.

The stūpa has no steps, and is in addition quite simple in form. The decoration is enriched, however, by niches; at the same time, the change in level makes the stūpa to stand out of the Sacred Precinct, an impression further emphasized by the line of the ambulacrum, which, together with that of the balustrade, has the effect of merging in a single visual complex the series of columns as well as the mass of the stūpa itself. This, then, was the original appearance of the stūpa before any changes had been made.

In the *second phase*, the floor of black schist was changed in the ambulacrum into the one of slabs of green schist. This new floor was covered with layers of stucco, a good deal of which has now crumbled away; it is seen that the floor was made of small slabs, trapezoidal in shape, laid in radiating bands and not uniofrmly shaped: some of them at least had been used before.

There is evidence of use, and a number of repairs were made with pieces of black schist. On both the south and east sides there are patches with bands made of pieces of blue, yellow, and green glass paste, very similar to those in the Dharmarājika stūpa at Taxila.

Contemporary with this phase is the initial construction of the first buildings

round the border: one side of this complex followed the edge of the ambulacrum, while the connecting walls, built between the side columns, supported the balustrade. This is the first stage in the process, through which the ambulacrum was finally closed.

In view of the large scale on which the building activity was conceived, it is not surprising that, in the *third phase*, jambs for the entrance doors were built on the projections of the PR.: these were brought to light from the confusion resulting from subsequent changes.

South Gate: this is the most typical of the gates. Its width increases from 1.17 to 1.53 m., and it is preserved to a maximum height of 1.05 m. The gate, which has its jambs set aslant into the ground, is joined at its two sides to vihāra 137 and column 93 respectively. Access through the gate was somewhat restricted by the construction of stūpa 95 in front, followed at a later date by that of vihāra 94 to the west. The gate was closed by a rough stone wall; the resulting external angle was blocked and filled in two successive stages with various miscellaneous material.

West Gate: this is enclosed within vihāra 73. Its inner width measures 0.91 m., its external width 0.72 m., and the maximum height preserved reaches 1.35 m.; like the south gate, the shafts and the walls that connect it to columns 209 (destroyed) and 78, are built of blocks of soapstone; the threshold is built of large slabs of re-used black schist, and was raised on various occasions. After it had been closed, it was used as a wall for vihāra 73, which leans against it.

North Gate: this gate differs from the two preceding ones in appearance, and must have been particularly important in view of its relationship to the area where access was gained, and to the large building with a staircase, both of which are placed on the same axis as the gate, i. e. northwards. The projection for the gate is situated between stūpa 17 and pilaster 86 to the west, and to the east, between stūpa 14 and pilaster 65 (where the guide-lines cut into the schist slabs inside stūpa 15 are still preserved). This was next extended, probably as far as stūpas 17 and 14, and then cut off on the east side, following the construction of stūpa 15, which covers the space formerly occupied by pilaster 65 (which was destroyed). The gate was extended in front by the addition of a second step, covered with stucco.

When the slabs of green schist were laid down in the ambulacrum, the two steps were covered by a flat ramp. Access was therefore not gained by means of a gate in the proper sense of the word, but by passing between the monuments themselves, decorated with sculptures in green schist.

With the later construction of stūpa 22 the space was blocked, and completely closed by the various elements that connected vihāra 32 and stūpa 14.

East Gate: this one too, like the North Gate, was originally limited in width by columns 143 and 214, and later by vihāra 146 (in the place of 214, which had fallen down) and column 122.

On the ramp which was raised to connect it with the green schist floor, also furnished with a step, there were constructed two side-walls (nos. 144 and 145), which seem to be leading up to it.

Two steps, covered with coats of stucco, were later added in the space between

them, while against the southern side-wall there was placed a stucco statue, together with fragments of a frieze, on the wall itself.

The last step is connected to the pebble foundation, and this gives some indication of the course followed by the access-way to the PR. This was subsequently adapted and modified by the stūpas and vihāras which were lined along its sides and turned inwards to face it.

From this feature we may infer an extremely important change in the development of the life of the sanctuary, a change, in fact, that was sufficiently important to be reflected architecturally.

When the South, West and North Gates had been closed, so that access could only be effected by the East Gate, which alone remained open, the functions of the Sacred Precinct seem to have been concentrated particularly on the east side. This in turn explains a number of changes in the orientation of the subsequent buildings.

Definite evidence for the closing of the entrance-gates to the PR., which constitutes the *fourth phase*, may be seen in the damage inflicted on the walls and on the schist decoration of the stūpa.

A layer of plaster (the second one) was applied to the wall in order to cover up the various scars and gaps left in the schist panels.

The fragment of relief which remained in the northern niche was spared. At this time the head and halo of the Buddha must have been renewed in stucco. Contemporary with the application of this coat of plaster is that of the first coat of stucco above the green schist floor, which is thus concealed; and at the same time, a first coat of plaster was applied to the external wall of the ambulacrum so that the front of the buildings, the connecting walls and the closed gates were all similar in appearance.

On the plaster surface, there is a skilfully painted garland, alternately red and grey (blue?) in colour. Sinuous and at the same time compact, this decoration extends all round the perimeter, while in the spaces above and below its curves there are red open lotus flowers.

The stūpa is now completely enclosed by a circle of buildings turned inwards to face it, thus producing an effect of intimacy as well as of protection.

Provided with an only way of access to the east, it develops from now on apart from the rest of the Sacred Precinct.

The side-walls and the floor of the ambulacrum, which is now closed like a corridor, are completely whitened with plaster, enlivened only by the colours of the painting.

During the *fifth phase* the decorative element was gradually increased by the addition of statues, depicting the Buddha in a standing or sitting position, placed behind the walls in a range more or less continuous. The surface of the wall was renewed by two further coats of plaster (the third and fourth ones), while the floor-surface was continually renewed by more than fourteen successive layers, which may be clearly seen in section on the east side. On the eighth layer there was a red painted decoration of red spirals at the two sides.

The statues were made up of an internal nucleus of stone, or a wooden framework, padded out with straw held in position by branches of osier. This frame was then covered with progressively thinner layers until all the features and details of the drapery were complete; and the surface was subsequently coloured.

The fact that individual statues may be correlated with successive phases in the history of floor makes it possible to place them in chronological order. Within the various groups of statues, changing and evolving techniques may be observed. To these corresponds a stylistic change which takes the form of an evolution from naturalistic to stylised protrayal. These changes occur in a relative succession within the limits imposed by absolute chronology. This information is of fundamental importance to the study of stucco sculpture.

The bases of the statues, which may be either circular or square, are occasionally decorated with lotus leaves in relief as well as with painted spirals.

To the west we notice a green schist sculpture against the wall showing the offering of the bowls to the Buddha, while to the east there is a niche showing the Buddha seated between two acolytes.

During the subsequent decline of the Sacred Precinct (the *sixth phase*), the ambulacrum was covered by earth, which gradually accumulated until it was as high as the level of P2, as shown on the north side by a slab which was left in position. A rough wall was built over the whole of the northern arc; it must have served to hold up the buildings that were on the point of collapse, as previously there had merely been a few attempts to patch them up.

The collapse occurred in the *seventh phase*, to which — or possibly to preceding phases — the large umbrella of schist behind column 84 can be assigned.

A number of these phases can be fixed in terms of absolute chronology by the numismatic evidence.

For the foundation of G. St. 4, i. e. for the first phase, we have the coins found in the reliquary recesses, which were placed behind the panels. To these we should add the coins found on the floor of the ambulacrum, definitely belonging to the reliquary-recesses that have fallen down, and others that can be related to the filling of this same PR.

They belong to various periods: Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kuṣāṇa, and fall within the limits of time imposed on the one hand by the coins of Amoghabhūti and of Apollodotos II, and on the other by coins of Hormizd II.

Azes II and Kadphises I are strongly represented statistically; and there are also coins belonging to Azes I, Soter Megas, Gondophares, Kaniṣka and Huviṣka (or imitations) and Vāsudeva (or similar).

The coins of Hormizd II constitute a terminus *ante quem* for the

foundation of G. St. 4, which may be dated roughly to the first half of the 4th century A. D. The date of the second phase, i. e. of the floor of green schist, is supplied in general terms by coins found to the north, underneath the coats of stucco: more precisely by one coin found within the interstice of a slab, and by three from beneath it: the latest of which dates to the end of the 4th century or more probably to the beginning of the 5th.

The third phase, which saw the construction of the gates, must be assigned to the 5th century, on the evidence of a Kidarite coin of the end of the 4th century. It was found in the reliquary of stūpa 186, the floor of which corresponds exactly to this phase.

Sasanian and Kidarite coins, obviously from the reliquaries of various stūpas, were found in the layers relating to the collapse of the Sacred Precinct. The latest of these (Khusrō II, 591-628) provides a terminus *ante quem* somewhere in the 7th century A. D., for the destruction of the G. St. as well as of all the minor ones.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth phases fall somewhere in the period covered by the 6th century, and also probably part of the 7th. The fifth and sixth phases are particularly important on account of their painted plaster, their stucco floors, and their groups of stucco statuary, affording evidence of a technical and stylistic evolution.

For this period, we can also avail ourselves of the testimony of Chinese pilgrims, particularly that of Sung Yün (518-522) — who wrote at length on the splendour and richness of the monasteries — and that of Hsüan Tsang (629-645), who visited the region, already in his days mostly abandoned. The narrative of Sung Yün probably relates to the fourth phase, when the sanctuary was at the peak of its magnificence, and when the G. St., even though closed internally, nevertheless must have been a splendid sight with its stucco floors, its painted plaster, and its numerous gilt statues. The testimony of Hsüan Tsang on the other hand, seems to fit either the sixth phase — the phase of abandonment attested by earth floors and collapsing buildings, crudely patched up — or else the seventh phase, the one to which the actual destruction of the monuments is assigned.

* * *

Contemporary with the total collapse of the G. St. is the total collapse of all the monuments in the sanctuary which were submerged beneath its debris. We have tried to find elements that might point to some kind of explanation for such a large and complete destruction. In all the confused mass of stones and sculptures there occurs no burnt matter, nor are there any other likely traces of a fire; that is, we do not have the usual signs of deliberate destruction by man.

The material that had fallen down from the nearby stūpas was piled up inside in utter confusion. Some of it was carried some distance away by the impact of its fall, thus completing the total chaos.

Appearances alone afford ample indication that the destruction was not spread over a long period of time. In fact, it was so sudden that among the stones of the debris there were still some gaps that were never filled by earth.

Everything leads to the assumption that the destruction was the result of some violent natural phenomenon similar to those that occurred in the previous periods.

A stratum of dark alluvial earth covered the layer associated with the destruction, extending over the whole of the destroyed surface, ironing out all the differences in level, and rising slightly towards the high point of the central stūpa.

It was here that *G. St. 5*, the last, was finally built, in an area hitherto more or less devoid of monuments.

The stūpa is circular in plan, with a diameter of m. 15.60: it is not preserved to a great height, and rests on the chaotic remains of the previous buildings.

From the north, it may be observed that its nucleus, careless in construction, rises to a point where it backs on to the dome of G. St. 1, thus covering all the preceding monuments.

Its few remaining features attest a number of changes in technique: to the south the base moulding is made up of blocks of schist; the two rectilinear faces to the north-west and north are constructed of slabs and small chips of schist, carelessly put together, the north-west face being decorated with brackets; and the section to the north-west is on a higher level, with niches.

Two coins were found in level P1: a Kidarite coin which though not identifiable may be dated to somewhere between the 6th and

7th centuries A. D., and an Umayyad coin, dated to 62-70 A. H., i. e., to the end of the 7th century. The period comprised between the latter part of the 7th century, together with the 8th century, probably saw the reconstruction of G. St. 5; perhaps it was related to, or was influenced by, the general renaissance that we are used to associate with the Turkish restoration.

The life of the sanctuary comes to an end with this stūpa. It had become very poor, it was perhaps abandoned, and maybe fell down, completely or in part; all around a blanket of humus was deposited to seal the Sacred Precinct for all time. There follewed the onset of the Islamic invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni in the 11th century.

Except for the coin noted above, and another one found in the upper level, the site has yielded no evidence, either ceramic or otherwise, relating to the Islamic period.

FLOORS AND STRATIGRAPHY

The G. St. is extremely important in view of the fact that it provides a reliable succession of forms and techniques within the limits imposed by both relative and absolute chronology. Its five periods provide the key to the life-history of the sanctuary and constitute a sound basis for any examination of its constructional and architectural evolution.

Buildings are rising on each of its five floors.

It is seen that the Sacred Precinct has large areas of schist-paved flooring; this is a fact of extreme interest in itself, as well as because it provides a point of reference for any research.

The greatest extent of the paved floor lies in the northern part of the Precinct; as for other places, it is found near the G. St. Further away it is comparatively rare.

The floor is best preserved in the places where it was least trodden upon. It is constructed of polygonal slabs carefully cut and fitted together. In some parts it was sunk by the weight of the buildings that were laid upon it, and either restored with stone or levelled off with earth.

The numerous holes in the slabs were intended to hold staffs with flags or banners.

Floor P3 belongs to G. St. 3 and more particularly to a phase during which the level was raised.

With the progress of the excavation, it became apparent that the original floor of G. St. 3, P3a, constructed of schist slabs which were later removed in the normal process of re-using, was laid immediately underneath P3. The stucco floor that belongs to G. St. 2, P4, together with that of G. St. 1, P5, of which there remains the foundation of schist flakes, can better be seen near the Great Stūpa.

Further away, we note that all the floors were worn down or dispersed as, for various reasons, other material slowly accumulated. P3, as we have seen, continued to be used even during the period of G. St. 4 and its PR.

Other slabs were added to raise it up to a higher level, particularly around the PR. and in the area to the north. Subsequently, earth gradually accumulated on top, until it reached as high as the main levels P2a and P2: there is evidence of this process in various parts of the Sacred Precinct. These two levels were to a large extent broken up in the spots that suffered the worst damage; in places, they actually slope down quite sharply to a point outside the buildings around the PR. and near the ring-walls. It was onto the floor P2 that the buildings collapsed.

Floor P1 belongs to G. St. 5; it was constructed on a stone base, which is to a large extent preserved on the north side, and rises towards the raised cone.

ENCLOSURE WALL

We now return to the Sacred Precinct. As we have seen, it was enclosed within an irregular square which has an extension to the northwest. The enclosure wall is not uniform, neither with regard to construction nor to date: it was slowly built up of various elements, meant to connect it with the rest.

The oldest section is the wall itself, later destroyed, which was recovered in sections during the excavation. It runs along the west side, and is provided with internal spurs. The wall passed beneath the front of stūpas 38, 195 and 208; at this point it curves eastwards and forms the north face to reach shortly afterwards the Great Building. The structure is broad, deep and strong. Contemporary with it is the east wall, which runs in a northerly direction, and must be considered as more closely connected with the inhabited zone which faces north-east; the wall thus divides one section from the other. At a later stage the north side was connected to it by a short stretch of wall.

With P3, the Sacred Precinct tends to become enlarged towards the west, its borders being thrust outwards.

In the section to the south, the wall consists of the fronts of buildings gradually connected to each other and to the monuments; belonging to a later date, in the time of P2a, a wall that curves west corresponds to another one to the north. These lead up to a stepped entrance behind stūpas 38, 195 and 208, which was no doubt open to give access to the inhabited centre. In addition to this gate to the west, and the other one to the east (there is no definite trace of it, but its existence may be assumed on the strength of the eastern aperture in the PR.), we have the South Gate: this is set back along the sides of a long enclosure wall, internally and externally, and has steps leading up to it.

Other earlier walls provide evidence of the closing of this southern part of the Sacred Precinct; gaps filled with discarded material combine with the construction of rather later stūpas to give the impression that, in the context of the sanctuary as a whole, this area was of secondary significance and relatively late.

Contemporary with P2, a small low wall, consisting simply of a line of pebbles, forms a substructure on a different level to the ground; at the same time the line of its curve leads up to the gate.

EVOLUTION OF THE GROUND-PLAN

At various times lesser stūpas, vihāras and columns were built round the G. St. Of various shapes and sizes, destroyed and restored on several occasions, they are all seen to be situated in close proximity to each other.

Except for the columns and the vihāras that are found on the edge of the PR., the monuments were orientated approximately according to the points of the compass, an arrangement that had been laid down right at the beginning of the sanctuary's history.

The history of the Sacred Precinct itself, of the access-ways to it and to the G. St., and of the latter's circulating areas, all had exerted a profound influence on the location of the buildings.

Of course, the larger stūpas took up most room, while the lesser ones were inserted in the gaps between them.

Although there is in general a certain amount of freedom in the placing of buildings, it is nevertheless very easy to discern a tendency to arrange them on certain principles of order and symmetry. There are, for example, characteristic alignments of two or more buildings

of similar size and technique — for example the line of stūpas 91-105, on the south side.

The first periods in the history of G. St. 2-3 saw the erecting of the circle of columns round them. Of these, the earliest columns, imposing and austere in appearance, were built of blocks of schist and had a wide plain plinth with a swelling base (columns 140, 149; 66 and 209, both lacking a plinth). The other, and later columns, harmonious and elegant in appearance, were built of blocks of soapstone; the plinths have mouldings, and the shape of the bases is now more refined (columns 67, 78, 93, 138, 143, 213; 84 subsequently modified).

This last group includes the northern line of alternate stūpas and columns that runs at a tangent to the circle of columns: reading from the west, they are stūpas 27, 17, 14, 133 and columns 33 (between stūpas 27 and 17) and 135 (between stūpas 14 and 133).

Stūpas 14 and 17 are the best preserved, and from them we can have an idea of the quality of their decoration, since this is still *in situ*, and since the green schist of which it is made is as good as new in those areas sealed up by the walls of buildings that were made later to lean up against it (pl. VII).

The sides were parted by fluted Corinthian half-columns, with pilasters at the corners. The upper cornice was made up of fillets, ovoli and kymation, and was decorated with alternate lion protomes with full curly manes in a glory, stylized lilies, eagles, cupids on lotus-flowers.

On stūpa 17 a square upper storey is also preserved, slightly smaller, decorated with quadriglyphs between the lower and upper cornices. In the spaces between the half columns and the quadriglyphs the side of the wall was painted with large open lotus flowers, alternately red and blue: these are preserved on the south wall. All the architectural features, made of schist, together with the dome, likewise built of schist blocks, were gilt. We can now only surmise the rich splendour of these monuments in a lavish yet refined decorative taste.

In front of these buildings and of G. St. 3, there rose at the same time the Great Building, built of soapstone with a decoration of green schist pilasters on its lower part (see Great Building, p. 49 f.).

With P3 the Sacred Precinct was paved with slabs of schist. Its development is now concentrated to a very large extent in this intermediate zone. Resting directly on P3, i. e., belonging to the last phase of G. St. 3 and the first phase of G. St. 4 (which had in the meantime been constructed), the buildings are lined along the sides of an empty rectangular space.

They are, to the west, stūpas 58, 59, 60, 69, 51, and to the east, stūpas 12, 11, 53, 23. Others are placed cross-wise (stūpas 7, 6, 5, 4, 168, 166, 165) or near the sides. Stūpa 10 dominates thee ast side, with stūpas 8, 9, 193 and 164 next to it. In front of stūpa 14 is stūpa 13, decorated with green schist; behind it stands stūpa 52. There are numerous others to the west, immediately to the north (stūpas 43, 44,

45, 46, 47, 203, 48, 50) and to the south (stūpas 21, 35, 41, 42, 26, 31) of stūpa 40, which is larger. Stūpas 41 and 25-28 are notable for their excellent state of preservation; they all belong to the same type.

Later, while vihāras were being built at various times on the edge of the PR., the Sacred Precinct expanded east and west with the construction of stūpas with steps (stūpas 38, 195, 208). Meanwhile some buildings were destroyed and covered with further layers of earth (stūpas 35, 61, 51, 12, 77).

Building activity is now concentrated largely in the area to the south, in which there is a line made up of stūpas 91, 92, 95, 98, 99, 102, 103, 104, 105, identical in size and technique, and enclosed between stūpas 96 and 179, furnished with steps.

Groups of other stūpas were placed nearby, until access to the PR. was restricted to the East Gate, when stūpas and vihāras were lined along the route to it (vihāras 123, 124; stūpas 151, 152, 153, 154, 77). In the area to the east, further from the centre, are found later stūpas, now in a poor condition due to the slope of the ground (stūpas 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186).

TYPES, DECORATION, BUILDING TECHNIQUE OF THE MONUMENTS

The monuments in the Sacred Precinct are of three types: stūpa, vihāra and column.

The stūpa is the characteristic religious and funerary monument of the Buddhists (fig. 7). In its core, which consists of a mass of stones and earth, there is the reliquary-recess sealed in during the construction, and itself consisting of slabs of schist laid on edge, with another slab as a lid. We can see them in stūpas 5, 6, 7, 14. The recess contained the actual relic-casket in one of various forms (pyxis, sphere, stūpa) which in turn could contain, for instance, small fragments of burnt bone, ashes, capsules of gold and silver, pieces of necklaces, bracteae or coins: in one case there was a small roll of birch-bark.

The form of the stūpa evolves chronologically [1], as set forth in the discussion of the G. St.

[1] There is at present in preparation a study on the stūpa's architectural problems, with particular reference to its technique, structure, and shape, over the whole area covered by Graeco-Buddhist art. This will be a systematic survey, centre by centre, documented by drawings and photographs.

We have here examples of what had by now become a fixed type: lower square storey, upper round storey, or drum, with slightly tapering walls supporting the dome, of which unfortunately we have no example preserved *in situ* (pl. VIII). Both storeys have lower mouldings (cavetto, torus and plinth) and upper mouldings, on which frequently occur the cavetto, ovolo, fillet, and the occasional bracket-motif. There are examples where the upper storey is square in plan, as we have seen in the case of stūpa 17: stūpas 22, 24, 29, 46, 87, among others, follow the same pattern. Occasio-

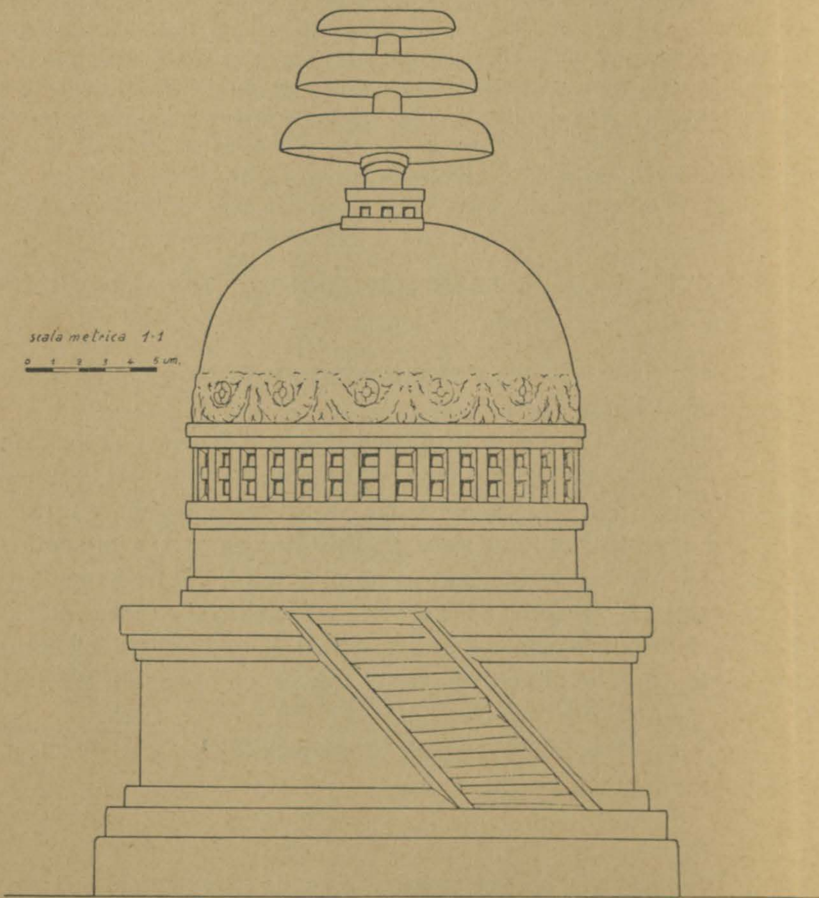


Fig. 7 – BUTKARA I – A stūpa after a relief from Butkara I, Inv. No. 6427, in the National Museum of Oriental Art, Rome, Inv. No. 1184.

nally, a further plinth raises the structure still higher. Less frequent is the circular stūpa with an upper storey circular (stūpa 21) or square (stūpa 18): both these are late. Sometimes steps were added to the stūpa.

The finishing touch was added to the stūpa in the form of a parasol or umbrella; this consists of a series of discs rising above the cupola on a rod passing through it and held in position at the base of the harmikā. Numerous schist discs have been found, together with the soapstone cylinders that were placed between them.

Stūpas were generally built in blocks — or occasionally large slabs — of soapstone, or else in slabs and small chips of schist (stūpas 1 and 96). Various materials, usually gathered at random, were used in the alterations and repairs. The wall was faced with plaster, on which — except in the case of stūpa 17 — we have found no trace of colour.

Outside the group which we have already seen to be the earliest in date (stūpas 14, 17, etc.), the wall of the lower square storey of some stūpa is decorated with green schist Corinthian columns (stūpas 1, 88, 96) or with projections carved out of the same soapstone block (stūpa 11). The walls were also decorated with sculptures or architectural elements. These were collected with no regard for uniformity, either in style or order, and seem to bear witness merely to a desire of enriching the building, to an act of piety towards a sacred material.

The most peculiar examples are stūpas 205, 163, 212. Sometimes there is only a single rough fragment, a spot of green against the dead white of the plaster (stūpas 3, 48, 49, 82, 87, 157, 171). Also re-used is the large lunette let into the east wall of stūpa 70 (pl. IX). There seems to be little interest in the subject of the sculptures, so much so that they are occasionally placed sideways as in stūpa 24.

* * *

The vihāra resembles a chapel, whose cell rises above a high podium, square or rectangular in shape. The decoration, mouldings and corbelling is generally developed on the main face, which occasionally has pilasters (vihāras 32, 137, 139). Buildings of this type became most common during the last phases of G. St. 4, and were placed around it on the edge of the PR. or along the access-way to the east (vihāras 121, 123, 124, 155). An exception is represented by vihāra 174 on the north-east side. Very peculiar in shape, like a niche in the

proper sense of the word, is the chapel set in the north wall of stūpa 1, constructed in two phases, as well as the one under no. 72 in the PR.

Vihāras were built of slabs and small chips of schist, between which were occasionally inserted pebbles of both medium and large size.

Statues were placed in the room, provided with a door: the base of a statue was found in vihāra 94, and fragments of other statues, some of them larger than life-size, of Buddhas and of Bodhisattvas, have also been found. Vihāra 37 encloses a stūpa.

* * *

The third class of monuments consists of the columns already discussed (pl. X). Besides those placed in a circle round the G. St., we should notice also the isolated columns, no. 36 to the west and no. 176 to the north-east.

Their height cannot now be determined, neither do we know what sort of top or capital they had, nor what they were intended to support — possibly the limestone statues of lions crouching on their haunches which were found nearby in the material saved from destruction. The type, which is classic, probably goes back to a prototype of the age of Aśoka. Columns are known at the corners of stūpas at Taxila and Haḍḍa ,or isolated near plinths or steps (Taxila, Sahri-Bahlol, Shotorak): but these were made of wood or blocks of stone.

* * *

Finally, we should note a number of individual features of the Sacred Precinct.

To the south, between stūpas 91 and 92 there are two tanks (circular and square, respectively) built of slabs with a facing of stucco for plaster or statues, of which there remains only the thick incrustation on the walls.

To the west, a long building, no. 71, inserted between vihāras 37 and 73: this is perhaps a chapel with steps, and is very late. Next to it, to the north, were found parts of a huge disc of schist with red painted plaster.

A large tank was hollowed out to the east in the clayey soil that forms its floor.

It measured 8.70 m. by 6.75 and the maximum depth preserved is 1.30 m. Its sides were made of slabs and chips of schist, slightly widening towards the top, now heavily damaged. At the bottom of the south wall, there is an opening to allow water to flow along a gutter. This opening has a square flush-mounting in which a slab could be inserted for closing it.

The gutter flowed south: its flat bottom was paved with slabs. Its width was roughly 0.20 m., with an average depth of 0.45 m., and it was covered with large blocks. The gutter that flowed east at a higher level was probably intended to take the overflow. Both stratigraphy and technique date the tank to the earliest period of the Sacred Precinct. Its use was of course connected with ritual functions or ablutions.

Other gutters, crossing the Sacred Precinct at various angles, were also intended to drain off surplus water, notably the gutter that flows north-south across the west side, and the one flowing east-west across the north side.

We should notice a portico that was built in the northern area, in front of the oldest part of the enclosure wall, to the west.

It was built originally with a single line of columns, which was subsequently doubled: there was a third, and later, reconstruction, in which the position of the columns is slightly different.

The maximum length is roughly 28 metres for a line of 11 columns (the 12th one is doubtful): the distance between them varies between 2.75-3 m.

The foundations of the columns, slightly tapering towards the bottom, which are still in position, are made of chips and stones, and resemble those known from the Udegram " Bazar "(maximum height preserved 0.95 m.; diameter at the base 0.98 m., at the top 0.88 m.).

Above them remain the large round flat pebbles belonging to the latest construction and forming the base of the vertical parts which were definitely of wood.

The colonnade was destroyed by the construction of the Great Building, contemporary with G. St. 3 (pl. XI).

It was aligned on the same axis as the latter, and as the piazza, approximately at the middle of the northern side of the Sacred Precinct against the oldest part of the enclosure wall: it was raised on a high plinth of wide, imposing walls. All the building above the plinth has been lost.

The ground-plan is clear, and consists of a room and an anteroom surrounded on three sides by a corridor. On the west side a small room was added. A staircase (3.66 m. wide; 4.34 m. long) gives access to the Great Building from the Sacred Precinct, onto which it faces. The front was covered with blocks of soapstone and was furnished in its lower half with one or perhaps two sets of green schist Corinthian pilasters. Their maximum preserved height measures 0.95 m.; the interval between them 0.98 m. They were found on each side of the staircase, where now only a few bases remain.

On the soapstone wall there are recesses for the statues that gradually accumulated.

Contemporary with G. St. 3, this building may be compared to it in the closed and harmonious development of its ground-plan. They are both massive, they are similar in technique, and they both have green schist pilasters. Indeed, their only difference lies in the fact that the one is round and the other is square.

We do not know the function of this imposing building, which in appearance resembles a particular type of vihāra whose various features are found at Haḍḍa, at Gumbat (Swat) and at Takht-i-Bahi. To the west and east of this building there is a series of rooms.

To the west there are rooms with deep foundations resting on the parallel walls outside the enclosure wall: their appearance was gradually modified as parts of them were closed up.

To the east there is first a simple cell with bench, enclosed by a wall: this is raised on a podium comprising more buildings approached by a double staircase of slabs springing from the wall.

Both this wing and the other were soon affected by events occurring in the piazza in front, which divides the Sacred Precinct from the inhabited areas. This piazza is a large one, made narrower by the addition of transverse walls, crossed in an east-west direction by a long gutter, and having an east passage which follows the line of the inhabited area and the enclosure wall, as far as the corner.

THE INHABITED AREA

We now leave the Sacred Precinct and turn our attention to the area north of it, where, outside the enclosure wall, excavation revealed

part of an inhabited area (fig. 5, pl. XVII). Although we do not yet have a clear ground-plan, we know enough to be able to reconstruct its history and to ascertain its connection with the stratigraphy of the Sacred Precinct.

The buildings were arranged in a tight network, one against the other, and during the later phases of destruction and reconstruction, one above the other, either by deriving advantage from previous walls or following new courses. The plan of the upper, and later buildings is more or less complete: that of the lower, or earlier ones, is fragmentary.

The buildings face onto a piazza, where the water from the inside was drained off through small apertures, to be collected in a large gutter that divides the area to the north into two zones.

The floors are indicated either by beaten earth or by pebbles or slabs scattered about: from time to time they were slowly raised.

Evidence of human occupation is found in the hearths, in the vases occasionally *in situ*, smashed on the floors, and in the little benches.

At some points, as in room no. 1, it is possible to distinguish the five principal building periods, corresponding roughly to those of the Sacred Precint.

Each period entails a rise in level, and in each one there may be detected a development in building technique, wich was based on the use of river-pebbles and flakes of schist, solid and carefully selected in the earlier structures, considerably less uniform in the later ones.

The inhabited area spread to the east and to the north, and was particularly extensive to the west, for over one kilometre, where it follows the river-valley as far as its mouth and the junction of the Saidu and Jambil rivers. Wide and imposing walls stand along the high banks eroded by the water; they rise to a remarkable height, while the great unevennesses in the ground reveal the buildings lying underneath. To the right, the valley of the Saidu winds about the slopes of the hills.

Along the hills, on both sides of the Saidu and Jambil valleys, stood the religious monuments surrounding this vast centre.

We remark that this is divided into residential quarters standing next to the poorer ones, and has roads, squares, and an organized drainage system.

The large and imposing walls have assured the preservation of a definite succession of floors and levels.

All of these features seem to ensure the success of an excavation,

which it is hoped will be undertaken, with a view to determining the layout of this big centre and the development of shapes and material, and to recovering the data that will enable the history of the site and its region to be written in detail.

The Sacred Precinct of Butkara was bordered by the south-eastern extremity of this centre, which could be reached through the West Gate.

On the opposite side, the road that goes up the valley must probably have passed by the sculptured representation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, restored to its original position on the bank of the Jambil.

LOWER LEVEL: HUMAN OCCUPATION

Underneath both the Sacred Precinct and the inhabited area there lies a deep level of sandy clay, compact, hard, and evidently of alluvial formation. It covers traces of human occupation, resting on a natural formation of gravel and huge river pebbles, characterised by a layer of rich black earth.

In this we found traces of low walls, built entirely of pebbles, a gutter cut into the earth, a row of large blocks (in the trench in the empty space of the inhabited area) and finally a system of pits, of which one is still visible underneath a building of the same area. The function of the pits is as yet uncertain; they were dug into the river-level, were tapering towards the top, and were lined with pebbles, with projections of schist slabs at the mouth. Their upper parts have been lost, washed away in a flood.

The finds consist of badly corroded sherds, unrecognizable except in a few cases.

The nature and date of the occupation have still to be determined, but it is clear that they have no connection with the Sacred Precinct, nor with the inhabited area.

* * *

Leaving the main road about one mile farther on, one follows a footpath above which rise several mounds; behind one of them stands a peasants' house. The track then enters the eroded clay terraces at the foot of the mountains. Following the sandy bed of a dried-up stream, one reaches a hill that is cut off by two ditches that lend it the appearance of a spur.

PANR

THE SACRED PRECINCT

This is the site of a Buddhist Sacred Precinct built on two main terraces connected by stairs, with several rooms to the east that form part of a large complex of buildings, that is, the monastery (pl. XVIII). The erosion of the hillside has caused the collapse of many structures.

In contrast with the Sacred Precinct at Butkara I, which rises on level ground, here we have an entirely different plan, laid out on a variety of levels, involving new trends and ideas in structure and design. The result is a structural group rich in flowing design, where the eye can pick and choose at will among the various features.

The two terraces cut along the hillside follow a north-south axial alignment, while the buildings have developed along an east-west line. The upper terrace is supported by a high, strong revetment wall, which also serves as the rear wall of the lower terrace. Both terraces are paved with well-cut slabs of schist.

In the first instance, with the exception of the revetment wall, the exposed cuttings in the hard clay must have served as walls; it may be seen that this is still the case, also for the rear wall of the upper terrace. It was only later, when the schist pavement had been covered by a raised level of earth, that sections of coarse walls in a variety of materials were built.

Various monuments are to be found on the terraces:

Lower Terrace: At the sides of a stūpa — of which there remains the only flight of steps looking to the east, with decorated flanks — there are rows of other stūpas, crowded together, belonging to various successive phases, all of them heavily damaged.

Upper Terrace: The central piece is constituted by a stūpa with a southward-facing stairway. Lesser stūpas lie in identical positions on either side, while at an equal distance to the rear stand two soapstone columns coated with plaster.

The best-preserved example has a moulded plinth (pl. XII) on which rests a gently tapered column shaft, whose base consists of a socle and *trochilus* between two *tori*. It recalls parallels with the later group at Butkara I, from which it differs in a few details and to which it is superior in size and state of preservation.

While it is a monument of considerable importance in itself, it adds a characteristic feature to the whole group of ruins. All that remains of the other column is a plinth against which rests a stūpa of a later period.

Apart from the lower structure, some stūpas also preserve the drum and springing of the dome, but this unfortunately is not enough to define their architectural development. The matter of the shape of the dome is still open to debate. As far as Swat is concerned, while we are assured about it for the major monuments of later date, we have no evidence for the earlier, smaller buildings which have now all been destroyed.

For the reconstruction of the upper part of the stūpa, we avail ourselves of its representation on the reliefs.

These buildings belong for the most part to an early period in the life of the sanctuary. They rest on schist pavements and are built of well-cut blocks of soapstone. In some instances, vases intended for liturgical use were set below holes bored through the slabs. Some buildings are shown to be of later date by the use of slabs and chips or the slightly raised level of the base.

Evidence of date is unfortunately lacking; one can only compare the structural technique with the documented evidence from the Sacred Precinct of Butkara I. I would suggest, therefore, that the foundation of the Sacred Precinct at Panr belongs to the period immediately following the construction of G. St. 3 at Butkara I, comprised in the 1st century A. D., that saw the introduction of soapstone as a building material, and a fresh concept of stūpa design.

The period of architectural activity in the sanctuary does not seem to have been extensive.

The principal finds in the Precinct consist of sculptures together with architectural fragments and blocks with relief decoration. They all show a fundamental similarity in material (pale green schist) and style.

The workmanship is fine, accurate and enhanced by gilding and colouring (blue, red, green and white) of which there are plenty of traces. Even allowing for the differences due to craftsmen and work-

shops in the identifiable groups, these can all be seen as the product of a single environment which encourages the growth of certain features found at Butkara I, from which it cannot be altogether disassociated. They belong to a high level of artistic craftsmanship endowed with a marked refinement of feeling.

THE ROOMS TO THE EAST

From the eastern sides of the two terraces staircases branch out acting as a link with a group of rooms to the east, that constitute the monastery. Where the lower section has been completely destroyed the bare clay ground shows through. In the upper section, however, the rooms have been preserved by thick, well-built walls of schist slabs and chips.

Excavation has uncovered a broad rectangular hall; four blocks lying along the main axis show the position of four columns, probably of wood.

A passageway leading to a further set of rooms occurs along the east wall.

* * *

Leaving Butkara I, and going one mile farther on along the left bank of the stream, one reaches (at the foot of the mountains flanking the southern side of the valley) the excavation site of

BUTKARA II

THE CEMETERY[1]

It is clear from an examination on the ground that the cemetery zone must have extended along the slopes of the hills from Butkara to Arapkhanchina. As one sees it today, the area of the excavations is confined to a small plot on a spur between two deep gullies, where torrential rains from the mountains above have eroded the thick layers of alluvial clay and laid bare the schist rock below. Altogether the tombs number forty-eight (fig. 8). The best preserved examples show the basic type and its variations. They are cut into the stratum of clay, unfortunately so eroded that the surface of the cemetery has disappeared along with its upper section.

The graves look generally alike and share a basic plan of two superimposed rectangular trenches (fig. 9). The upper one is very deep, while the lower trench, the actual grave in which the corpse (or ashes) and grave furniture were laid, was smaller in size.

After the burial, large slabs laid across the lip of the grave were used to seal the lower trench, while smaller stones closed the gaps. Then the upper trench was filled with earth to form a complete seal. We have no idea of the external appearance of the tomb nor of any possible mark of identification. However, several variations of this type are known. In some instances the edges of the grave are strengthened by schist slabs, in others the lower trench is reinforced by a retaining wall set against the earthen sides of the grave.

Grave 6 is unique, in that it has a lower trench of roughly circular shape and the buried skeleton is crouched in a very small place. Nothing has survived of the upper trench.

---

[1] The cemetery area of Butkara II has been completely filled up with earth; nothing is now visible of the excavation.

The account of the excavations in the graveyards of Butkara II, Loebanr and Katelai is of course based upon the studies of Prof. G. Tucci and Dr. Ch. Silvi Antonini, which have already been published (see Bibliography).

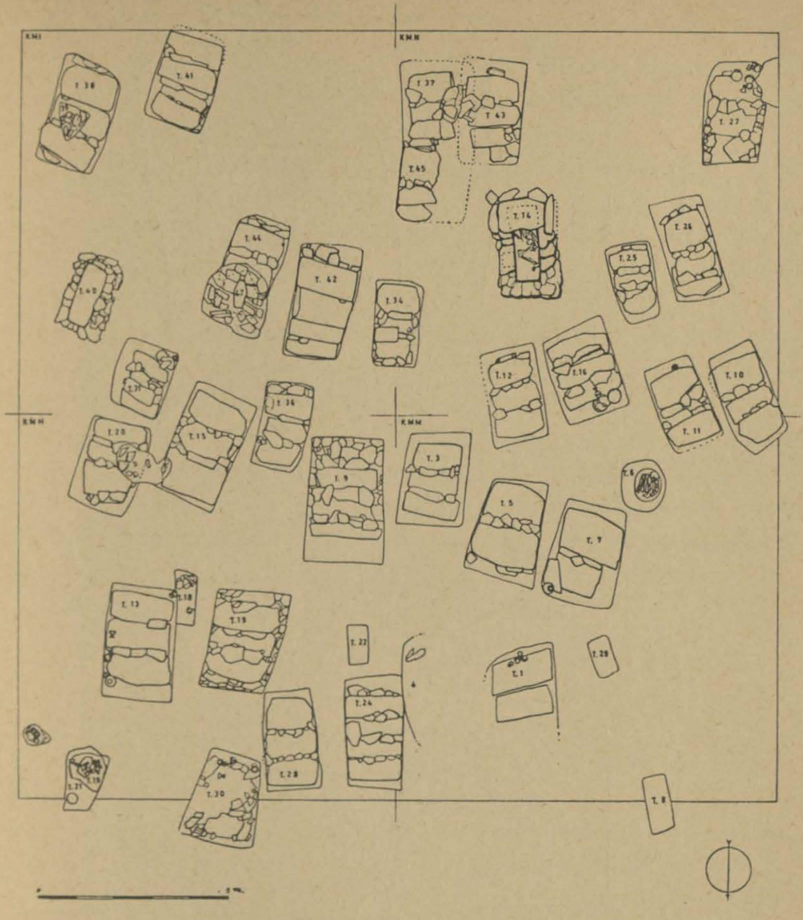


Fig. 8 – BUTKARA II – Plan of the graveyard.

There is evidence of inhumation and cremation, — or more precisely semi-cremation — both of which were practised during the same period. The almost total absence of superimposed tombs shows that, in this section at least, the life of the cemetery was short.

When cremation took place, the burnt bones, reduced to tiny pieces, were placed in a kind of funerary urn, generally covered with

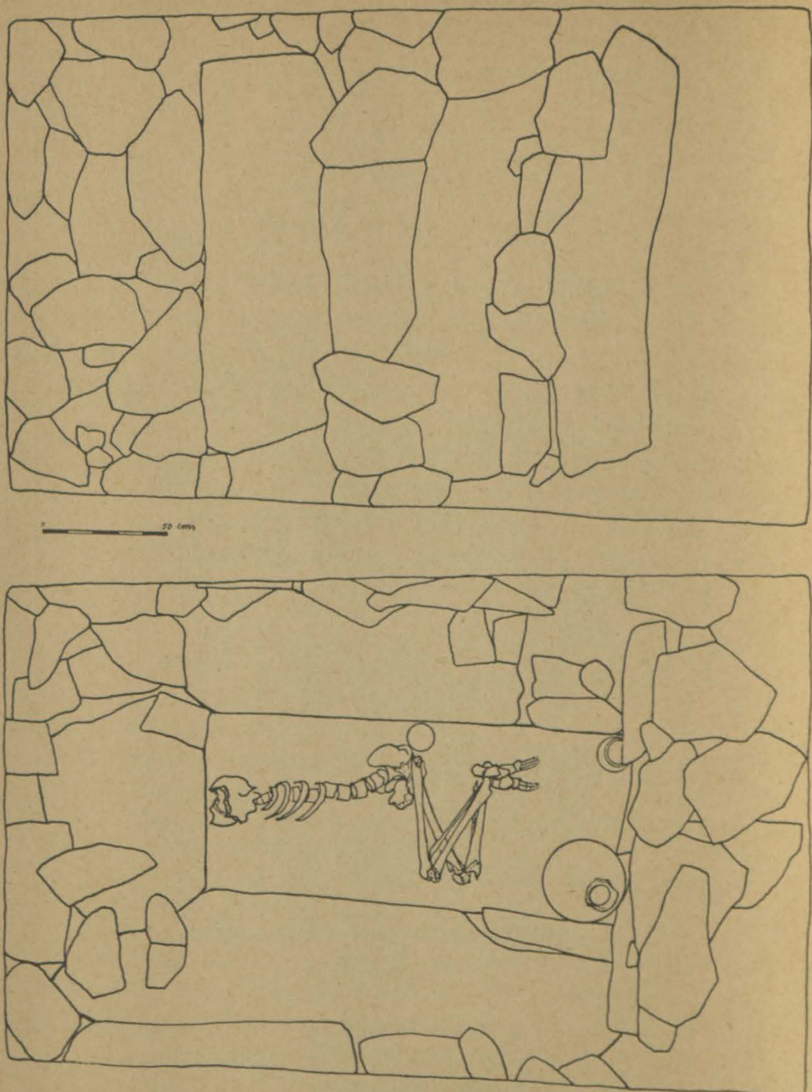
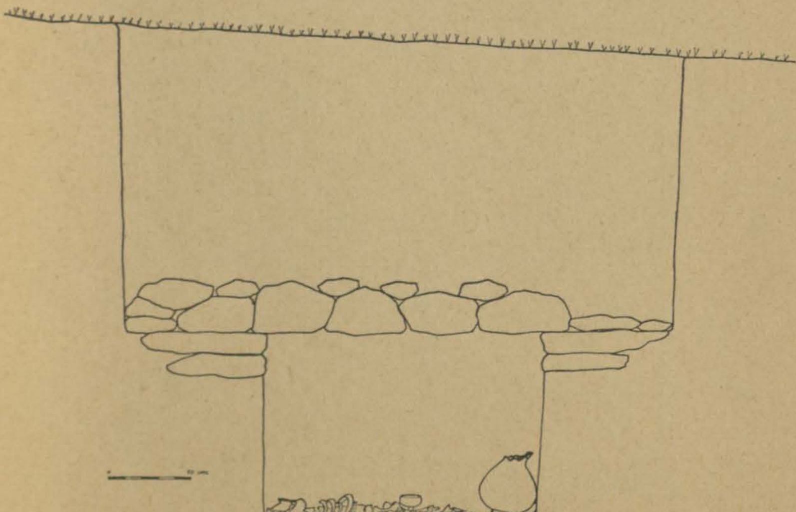


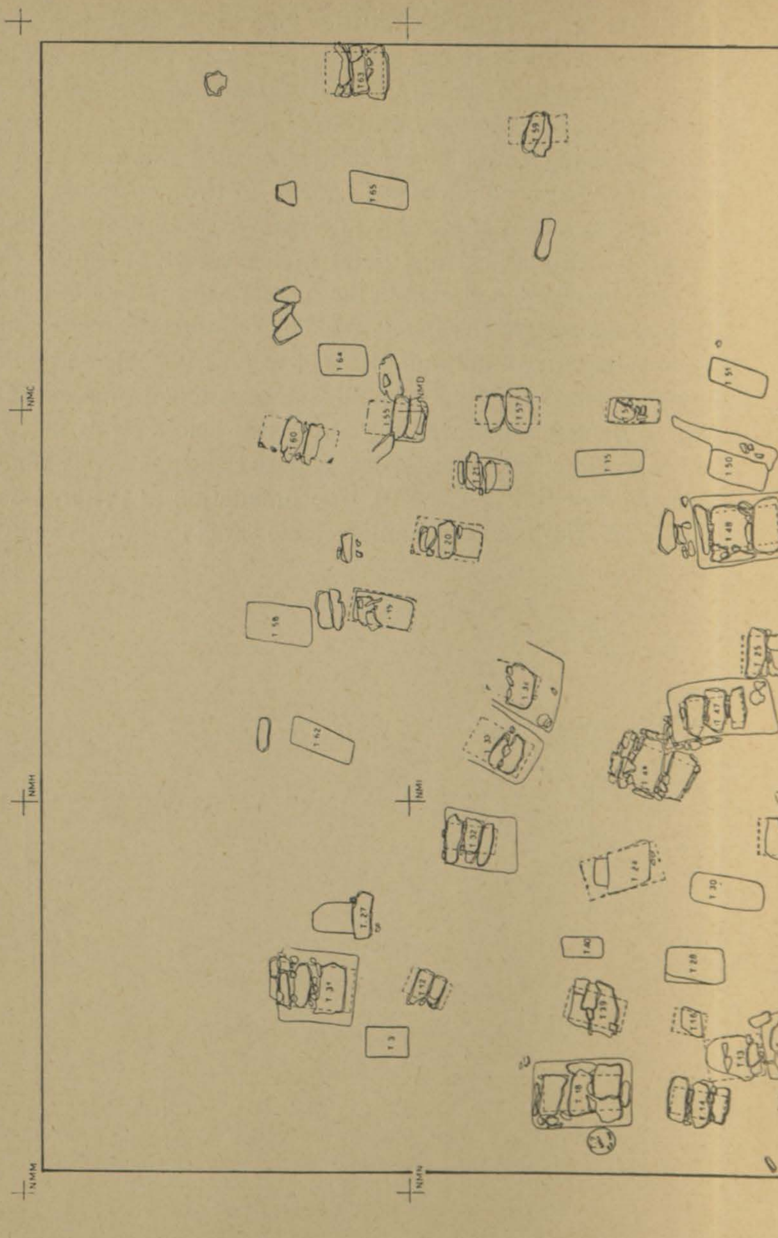
Fig. 9 – BUTKARA II – Plans of grave 9 before and after removal of covering slabs (the rebate protected by schist slabs is worth noting); section of the same grave at p. 59.

a lid (pl. XIII). Together with the bones, the dead man's most cherished possessions were laid down: pins, copper blades, necklace beads etc., and, outside the urn, bowls containing offerings of drink and food; one such bowl shows traces of rice husks.

Preliminary examination has shown that in six cases at least, the same urn contained the mixed remains of two people of different ages, and, in one instance, possibly of three. A study of the earth fill of the upper trench clarified one point in the cremation ritual. While the burnt bones were collected in the funerary urn and placed in the lower trench, the rest of the pyre, including bone fragments, wood ash and — in some case — unburnt pieces of wood, were thrown into the upper trench together with the earth fill and, occasionally, a number of bowls.

In inhumation graves, the corpse was placed on its side, in a crouching position, with arms and legs flexed and the hands almost alongside the face (pls. XIV, XV). The orientation of the corpse is always the same, with the head pointing southwards to the hills and the feet to the north.




NMC
NMH
NMM
NMN
NMI
NMD

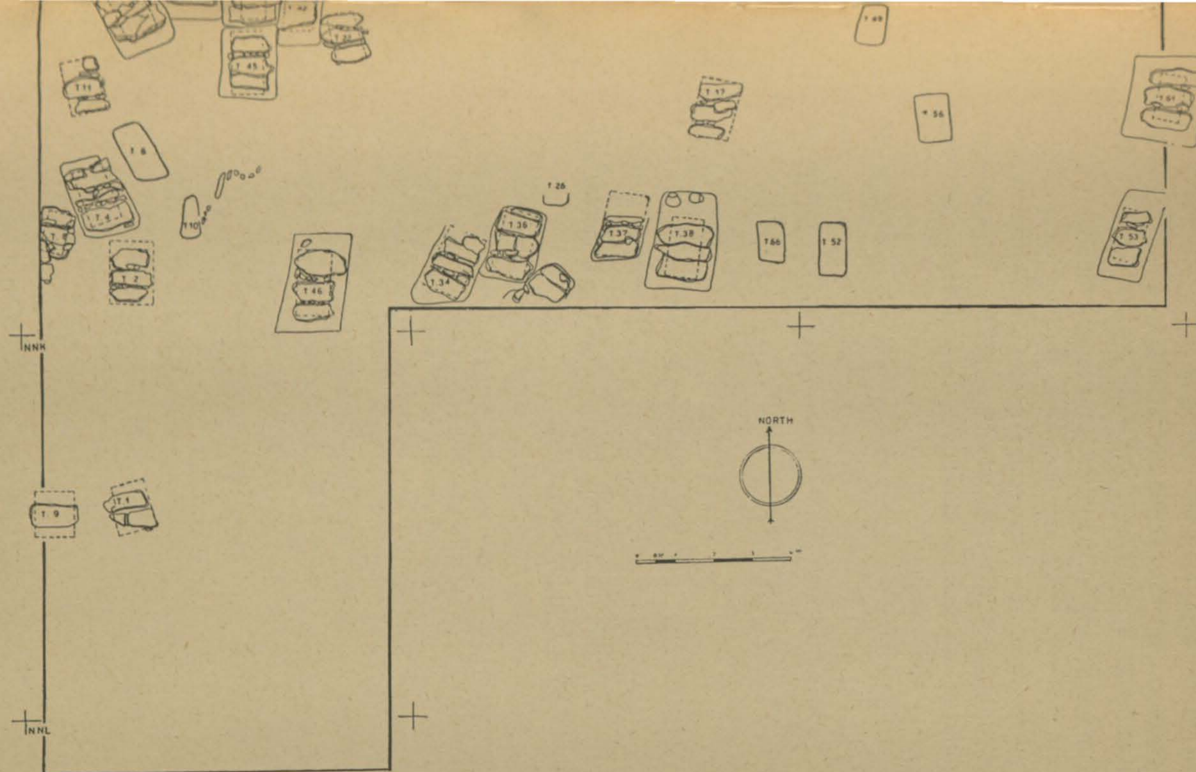


Fig. 10 – LOEBANR – Plan of the graveyard.

Each inhumation burial is of one person only.

The inhumation and semi-cremation burials are not distinguished from each other in the grave furniture by any difference, except that the large cinerary urn used in the latter is no longer found.

On the other hand, there are occasional finds of iron weapons (one spearhead is especially interesting) accompanying the corpse. One exceptional find was a naked female figure in clay. The womens' graves frequently yielded spindle whorls and fragments of what were probably bracelets and earrings.

The special interest of the cemetery lies in its handsome wheel-turned pottery in red or dark grey. The type includes wares of great sophistication, apparently inspired by metal-working. A few pieces are decorated with incised geometric patterns.

THE BUDDHIST SACRED PRECINCT

As an analysis of the stratigraphy has shown, the cemetery area was later occupied by a Buddhist sanctuary.

Three badly-preserved stūpas with soapstone blocks and schist slabs are visible today. West of the spur down by the foot of the ravine there are traces of large and complex buildings (including retaining walls) which have only been partially exposed and are probably contemporary with the layout of the Sacred Precinct.

* * *

Returning to the road, one continues as far as the village of Dangram. Then by taking a footpath to the right, recrossing the Jambil river and following a twisting course along the clay terraces of the hillside, one reaches

THE LOEBANR CEMETERY [1]

The site lies between the village by the same name and the stūpa of Gerjulai, that overlooks the broad valley below. The graves were cut into the soil, in a way similar to that of Butkara II.

Within the limits of a wide area a total of 65 graves was uncovered, thus giving an accurate picture of the site (fig. 10).

The cultural background of this cemetery tallies with that of the preceding example.

The structure of the graves is absolutely similar, except that the stone used for the covering slabs is the local variety, which is less compact and contains more extraneous matter; in consequence the blocks are smaller and less regularly cut.

Both inhumation and semi-cremation were practised.

The corpse was laid in a crouching position with the head always lying towards the mountains, in this case, southwards. Normally, burials were of one person only. Additional burial practices were also revealed. As is better shown in the cemetery of Katelai, there are instances both of simultaneous double burials — with the corpses laid side by side — and of the re-use of graves, where one skeleton seems to have been laid after the other: in the latter case a complete skeleton lies beside disturbed bones that have been hurriedly piled up in a corner (pl. XVI).

Lastly, we have completely new evidence of secondary burial, though only one instance is quite beyond any doubt.

---

[1] The cemetery area of Loebanr has been completely filled up with earth; nothing is now visible of the excavation.

A secondary burial implies a grave in which the position of the bones as they are found suggests that the later inhumation took place after the complete decay of the flesh, i.e., after a long period of exposure. Such are the fresh elements that fill out the historical picture of the cemetery and at the same time pose a multitude of cultural and religious problems.

The cremation graves contain a large ossuary with the burnt remains. The associated material includes objects identical with those discussed above: the pottery is of fairly good quality and, with a few odd variations, similar to that already illustrated (pl. XIII). There are also smaller objects such as copper pins, laurel-leaf blades, gold earrings, silver bracteae and fragments of necklaces and spindle whorls.

The discovery of five terracotta figurines found in graves 36 and 66 was of especial interest.

The cemetery will be completely excavated in order to determine its development and terminal dates.

* * *

In the Jambil valley there are further traces of contemporary burial grounds with the same features, and their exploration is scheduled for the immediate future. Beyond the limits of this particular region one should note the very rich and extensive cemetery of Katelai.

THE KATELAI CEMETERY[1]

The site lies half-way up the hills that overlook the village of Katelai beyond the confluence of the Saidu and Jambil rivers, south of Mingora.

Round about there are walls and stūpas belonging to the Buddhist period.

As in previous examples the terrain consists of clay terraces either levelled or scoured by water action; the graves are of the same type here too, with slab coverings very similar to those at Butkara II.

Tombs are exposed all along the hillside and the process has been accelerated in the past by recent quarrying for clay. The destruction of the graves was arrested as far as possible by a rescue excavation.

A broad trial trench was cut, in which 45 graves were discovered, revealing the same ritual aspects of inhumation and semi-cremation as hitherto, though in this case the former outnumbered the latter.

The skeleton was laid with its head towards the hill (i.e., roughly westward) and the feet to the east. In many cases there were twin graves and, as at Loebanr, tombs were frequently re-used. There was also a number of childrens' graves containing miniature urns, as well as several examples of secondary burials (pl. XVI).

Altogether in the Katelai cemetery the number of graves is large enough to allow one to identify superimposed graves and cases in which one grave has partly destroyed another and caused the removal of part of the skeleton.

This tangled mass of burials testifies to the cemetery's long life.

---

[1] The cemetery area of Katelai has been completely filled up with earth; nothing is now visible of the excavation.

One exceptional discovery, unique of its kind, was the uncovering of two complete horse skeletons. They were buried in plain trenches and separated from human burials.

The material from the graves does not show any substantial changes from that of other cemeteries, except in the comparative proportion of types.

Among the noteworthy finds were a small vase and a spindle whorl with incised decoration filled with white paste, a rectangular urn, a female figurine, copper objects, spindle whorls, women's ornaments and an iron spearhead.

* * *

Notwithstanding a certain internal development, the related elements in the three cemeteries that have been partially excavated to date make it quite clear that they belong to the same cultural horizon.

Any attempt at defining its place in the vast field of ancient civilizations is frustrated by our complete ignorance of any other site inhabited by the same people. Despite the variations in contemporary burial customs, the anthropological investigations now in progress[1] suggest that those people were morphologically the same. They were tall, with lofty oval craniums showing a marked dolicocephalic tendency, and belonged to a European Mediterranean strain.

The terminal date for this culture can be determined from the stratigraphy at Butkara II, where a Buddhist Sacred Precinct overlies the cemetery, and from the presence of iron objects in all of the three cemeteries. The most important evidence, however, rests on the pottery, which shows analogies with that from Tepe Hissar II B belonging to the 12th-11th centuries B. C. Iron is also found, although rarely, at both these sites.

Consequently, we may date the cemeteries to a period later than Tepe Hissar II B and earlier than the beginning of the Buddhist period.

---

[1] The skeletons from the Swat cemeteries are under examination at the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Rome, according to the general programme of analytical studies of all the finds from the excavations.

From the start we were led to conclude that these cemeteries belonged to a people of Iranian origin. We thus find ourselves faced with a migratory movement, i.e., with a race that came from the west complete with such fundamental skills as the use of horses and the working of iron; these people maintained their civilization for a considerable length of time by continuing their own cultural and technical traditions, either through a process of spontaneous evolution or through contact with earlier neighbouring cultures.

Further excavation and the detailed study of the materials now in hand will soon make it possible to solve some of the many problems surrounding this chapter in the history of a civilization which has hitherto remained completely unknown.

* * *

Excavations have produced a great deal of material. From the cemeteries have come grave ornaments, while the inhabited sites have yielded pottery, and other objects of everyday life. Schist and stucco statuary (amounting to several thousand pieces) has been found mainly in the Sacred Precincts: they all belong to the artistic school commonly termed Gandhāran (or Graeco-Buddhist or Romano-Buddhist).

After being catalogued, described and photographed, the material has been preserved and exhibited in the Swat Museum at Saidu Sharif.

The finds will be illustrated in a Guide to the Museum which is about to be published.

INDEX OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate IV - UDEGRAM: " BAZAR " - Pavement of the street at level II. (*Ismeo Rep. Mem.* I, p. 194, fig. 233. Neg. No. R 208/1; G. Gullini 1957).

Plate IV - UDEGRAM: " BAZAR " - Floor of level II with inset pots and bench.
(*Ismeo Rep. Mem.* I, p. 261, fig. 366. Neg. No. L 84/15; G. Gullini 1958).

Plate V - UDEGRAM: " CASTLE " - General view of the excavation. (*Ismeo Rep. Mem.* I, p. 281, fig. 410. Neg. No. LA 291/3; G. Gullini 1958).

Plate VI - UDEGRAM: " CASTLE " - Corridor 1a.
(*Ismeo Rep. Mem.* I, p. 218, fig. 282. Neg. No. R 244/7; G. Gullini 1957).

Plate VI - UDEGRAM: " CASTLE " - Room 6.
(*Ismeo Rep. Mem.* I, p. 223, fig. 292. Neg. No. R 249/1; G. Gullini 1957).

Plate VII - BUTKARA I - Sacred Precinct: right portion of the North side of stūpa 14, showing its green schist decoration *in situ*.
(*Ismeo Rep. Mem.* I, p. 36, fig. 45 = pl. VIII. Neg. No. R 72/3; D. Facenna 1956).

Plate VIII - BUTKARA I - Sacred Precinct: South–East side of stūpa 83. (*Ismeo Rep. Mem.* I, p. 141, fig. 166. Neg. No. L 18/13; D. Faccenna 1958).

Plate IX - BUTKARA I - Sacred Precinct: the re–used lunette let into the East wall of stūpa 70 (Inv. No. 2816; *in situ*).
(*Ismeo Rep. Mem.* I, p. 159, fig. 196. Neg. No. L 25/8; D. Faccenna 1958).

Plate X - BUTKARA I - Sacred Precinct: column 78, West side.
(*Ismeo Rep. Mem.* I, p. 147, fig. 174 = p. 148, fig. 175: prospect and plan. Neg. No. L 21/28; D. Faccenna 1958).

Plate XI - BUTKARA I - Sacred Precinct: South view of the Great Building. (Neg. No. L 1012/2; D. Faccenna 1960).

Plate XII - PANR - Sacred Precinct: column, East side.
(F. Bonardi 1963, Neg. No. P 116/11).

Plate XIII - BUTKARA II - Grave 3 with semi–cremation rite.
(Neg. No. L 1107/2, 43; M. Taddei 1961).

Plate XIV - BUTKARA II - Grave 30 with inhumation rite.
(Neg. No. L 1104/16, 17; M. Taddei 1961).

Plate XV - BUTKARA II - Grave 45 with inhumation rite.
(Neg. No. L 1099/34; M. Taddei 1961).

Plate XVI - LOEBANR - Grave 60: a sample of re–use of a grave.
(*East and West*, 1963, fig. 1. Neg. No. L 2122/12; Ch. Silvi Antonini 1962).

Plate XVI – KATELAI – Grave 36: a sample of secondary burial.
(Neg. No. 2128/21; Ch. Silvi Antonini 1962).

Plate XVII – BUTKARA I – General view of the Sacred Precinct and inhabited area from the South-East.
(F. Bonardi 1960, Neg. No. M/29).

Palte XVIII – PANR – Sacred Precinct: general view from the East.
(F. Bonardi 1962, Neg. P 29).

Negatives are filed in the Archives of the National Museum of Oriental Art, Rome.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat:

a) *Brief notices*:

G. Tucci, "In the Path of Alexander the Great: Italian Excavations in Swat, Northern Pakistan", in *Illustrated London News*, April 12, 1958, p. 603 ff.

G. Gullini, "Die Ausgrabungen der Italienischen Archäologischen Expeditionen in Swat-Gebiet", in *Indologen-Tagung*, 1959, p. 252 ff.

Attività Archeologica Italiana in Asia. Mostra dei risultati delle Missioni in Pakistan e in Afghanistan 1956-1959 (English Edition: *Italian Archaeological Researches in Asia*), 1960.

G. Gullini, "Archeologi Italiani nel Pakistan", in *Il Veltro*, IV, 1960, 4, p. 17 ff.

A Glimpse of the Italian Archaeological Excavations in Swat, Pakistan. Exhibition sponsored by the Italian Cultural Centre for Pakistan in association with the Arts Council of Pakistan, Karachi, 1961.

Mostra del materiale rinvenuto a Mingora (Swat) dalla Missione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan e assegnato all'Italia, 1962.

G. Tucci, "Remarkable Discoveries in Swat", in *Tourist World*, II, 1962, 12, p. 5 ff.

D. Faccenna, "The Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat, Pakistan", in *France-Asie*, 1962, p. 379 ff.

Do., "Gli scavi della Missione Archeologica Italiana in Asia", in *Archeologia*, I, 1963, 7, p. 1 ff.; 8, p. 7 ff.

Mostra delle sculture buddiste dello Swat. Sculture rinvenute a Mingora... assegnate agli Enti Torinesi e da questi donate al Museo Civico, 1963.

G. Tucci, *La via dello Svat*, 1963.

Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif (Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, and Italian Institute for Cultural Relations between Italy and Asia), 1963.

b) *Preliminary notes and reports:*

G. Tucci, "Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat", in *East and West*, IX, 1958, p. 279 ff.

G. Gullini, "Marginal Note on the Excavations at the Castle of Udegram: restoration problems", in *East and West*, IX, 1958, p. 329 ff.

Ch. Silvi Antonini, "Preliminary Notes on the Excavations of the Necropolises found in Western Pakistan", in *East and West*, XIV, 1963, p. 13 ff.

G. Tucci, "The Tombs of the Asvakayana-Assakenoi", in *East and West*, XIV, 1963, p. 27 f.

c) *Final Studies:*

Reports on the Campaigns 1956-58 in Swat (Pakistan): D. Faccenna, *Mingora, Site of Butkara I;* G. Gullini, *Udegram* (Reports and Memoirs of IsMEO, Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia, I), 1962.

D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)*, II: Plates I-CCCXXXV (Reports and Memoirs of IsMEO, Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia, II, 2). (Photographs by F. Bonardi, Descriptive Catalogue by M. Taddei), 1962.

d) Studies on special subjects:

Gh. Gnoli, " The Tyche and the Dioscuri in ancient sculptures from the valley of Swat ", in *East and West*, XIV, 1963, p. 29 ff.

M. Taddei, " Il mito di Filottete ed un episodio della vita del Buddha ", in *Archeologia Classica*, XV, 1963, p. 198 ff.

The region of Swat:

Sir A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, 1929.

Do., *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 42), 1930.

Do., *Serindia*, 1922, I, p. 2 ff.

E. Barger - Ph. Wright, *Excavations in Swat and Exploration in the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 64), 1941.

G. Tucci, *The Travel of a Buddhist Pilgrim to the Swat Valley* (Greater India Society, Calcutta), 1941.

Do., *La via dello Svat*, 1963.

The region of Gandhāra:

H. Deydier, *Contribution à l'étude de l'art du Gandhāra*, 1950.

Sir M. Wheeler, *Chārsada, a Metropolis of the North-West Frontier*, 1962.

The Stūpa:

G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, I: " *Mc'od r'ten* " *e* " *ts'a ts'a* " *nel Tibet indiano ed occidentale* (Accademia d'Italia, Roma), 1932.

G. Combaz, " L'évolution du stūpa en Asie. Étude d'architecture buddhique ", in *Mélanges chinois et buddhiques*, II, 1932-33, p. 183 ff.; III, 1934-35, p. 130 ff.

A. H. Longhurst, *The History of the Stūpa*, 1936.

Sir J. Marshall, *Taxila*, 1951.

P. Mus, " Barabodur ", in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, XXXVII, 1937, p. 269 ff.; XXXVIII, 1938, p. 577 ff.

H. Marchal, " Note sur la forme du Stūpa au Cambodge ", in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, XLIV, 1954, p. 581 ff.

M. Bénisti, in *Arts Asiatiques*, II, 1955, p. 79.

H. G. Franz, " Ein unbekannter Stūpa der Sammlung Gai und die Entwicklung

des Stūpa in Gebiet des alten Gandhāra ", in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, CIX, 1959, 1, p. 128 ff.

M. Bénisti, " Étude sur le Stūpa dans l'Inde ancienne ", in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, L, 1, 1960, p. 37 ff.

A. Bareau, " La construction et le culte des Stūpa d'après le Vinayapitaka ", in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, L, 2, 1962, p. 229 ff.

History

R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, Recherches Archéologiques et Historiques sur les Kouchans*, 1946.

J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw, *The « Scythian » Period*, 1949.

W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed., 1951.

A. K. Narain, *The Indo–Greeks*, 1957.

Inscriptions:

S. Konow (ed.), *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, II), 1929.

Classical References:

J. W. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 1877.

Do., *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, 2nd ed., 1896.

Do., *Ancient India as Described in Classsical Literature*, 1901.

The Chinese Pilgrims:

a) *Fa Hsien* (*399-414*):

H. A. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien 399-414 A. D., or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, 1923.

b) *Sung Yün* (*518-522*):

E. Chavannes, " Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra ", in *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, III, 1903, p. 379 ff.

c) *Hsüan Tsang* (*629-645*):

J. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (Royal Asiatic Society), 2 vols., 1904-05.

Iranian cemeteries:

E. Schmidt, *Excavations at Tepe Hissar Danghan* (Publications of the Iranian Section of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania), 1937.

R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk, près de Kashan*, 1938 ff.

Bibliography on Iranian Archaeology:

L. Vanden Berghe, *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien*, 1959.

L. Vanden Berghe - H. F. Mussche, *Bibliographie analytique de l'assyriologie et de l'archéologie du Proche-Orient*, 1956-60.

R. Ghirshman, *Iran. Parthes et Sassanides*, 1962.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER IL MEDIO ED ESTREMO ORIENTE
CENTRO STUDI E SCAVI ARCHEOLOGICI IN ASIA

a) *Reports and Memoirs*, published for the Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia by the Poligrafico dello Stato (State Publishing Office):

Volume I (1962):	*Reports on the Campaigns 1956-58 in Swat (Pakistan)*. D. Faccenna, *Mingora, Site of Butkara I:* G. Gullini, *Udegram.*
Volume II, 2 (1962):	D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)*. Plates I-CCCXXXV: Photographs by F. Bonardi; Descriptive Catalogue by M. Taddei.

Forthcoming volumes:

Volume II, 1:	D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)*. Text.
Volume II, 3 (1964):	D. Faccenna, *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)*. Plates CCCXXXVI-DCLXXV: Photographs by F. Bonardi; Descriptive Catalogue by M. Taddei.
Volume III:	D. Faccenna, *Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan): The Sacred Area.*

b) Guide-Books, Catalogues, Hand-Books:

D. Faccenna, *A Guide to the Excavations in Swat (Pakistan), 1956-62.*

c) Magazines: *East and West.*

EXHIBITIONS

Attività Archeologica Italiana in Asia - Mostra dei risultati delle Missioni in Pakistan e in Afghanistan, Torino, aprile 1960; Roma, maggio-giugno 1960. Catalogue with a Foreword by G. Tucci, edited by G. Gullini (in collaboration with D. Faccenna, U. Scerrato, D. Adamesteanu, M. Taddei). Italian and English edition. The exhibition has been subsequently set up in Tokyo, december 1960; in Karachi, in the Art Council Building, december 1961; in Peshawar, april 1962.

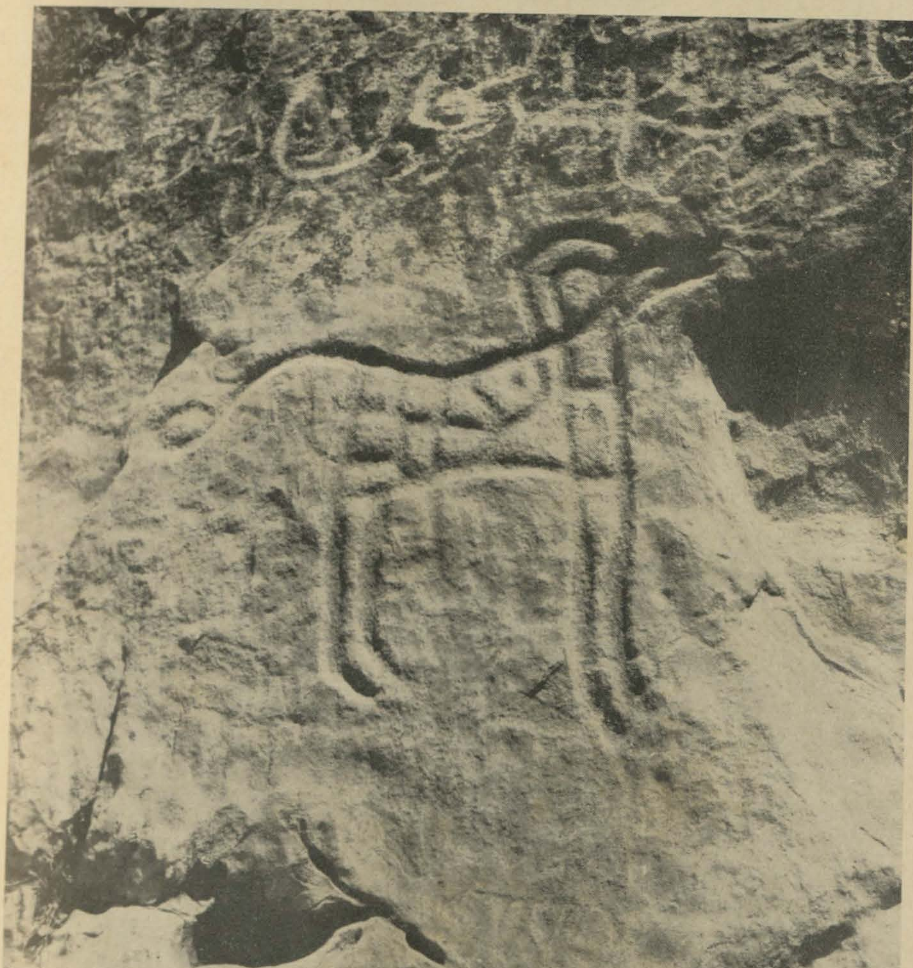
Mostra del materiale rinvenuto a Mingora (*Swat*) *dalla Missione Archeologica Italiana in Pakistan ed assegnato all'Italia.* Roma, Palazzo Venezia, marzo 1962. Introduction by G. Tucci.

Mostra delle sculture buddhiste dello Swat. Torino, Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, Aprile-Maggio 1963. Catalogue.
The archaeological material exhibited, dug out at Mingora (Swat) by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, and assigned to Italy, comprises solely the share belonging to the Turin Institutions, and donated by them to the Museo Civico of Turin.

5000 anni d'Arte in Pakistan. Napoli, Museo Nazionale, 23 febbraio-19 aprile 1964. Catalogue.
Seven reliefs from Butkara I belonging to the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome were exhibited here (nos. 302-308).

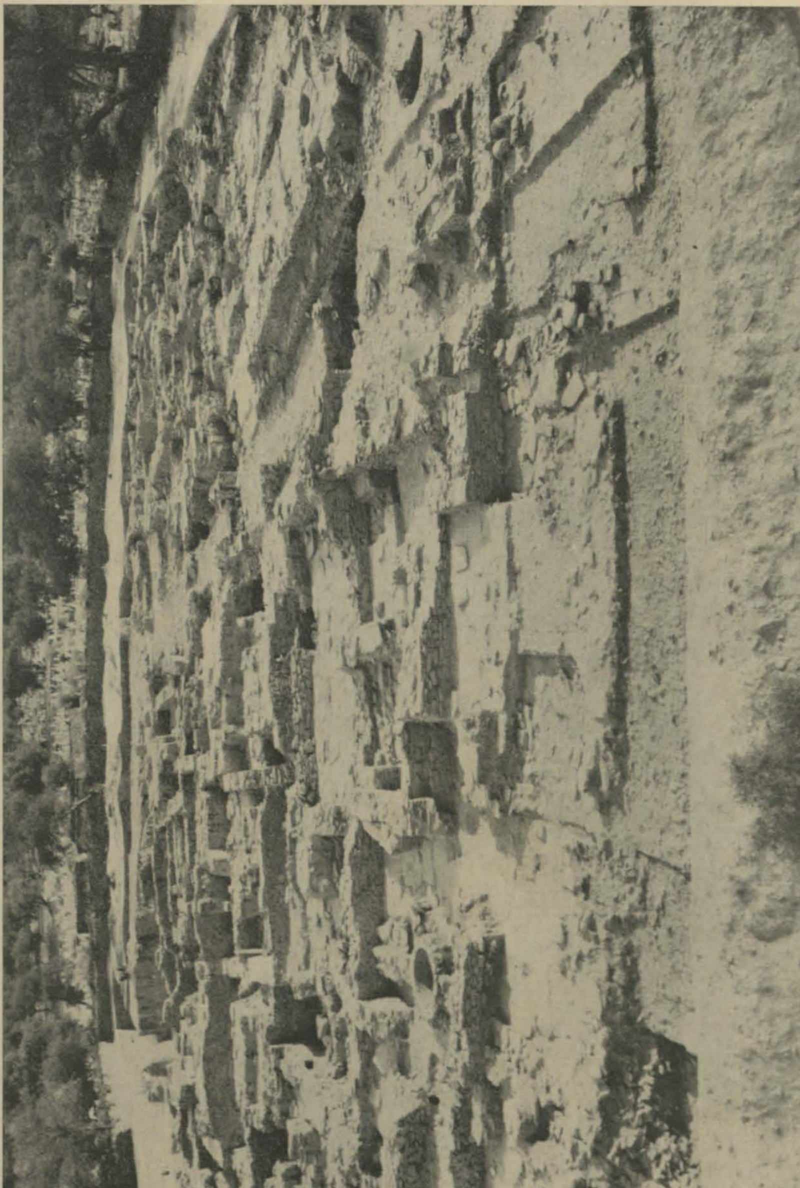
Tutela e valorizzazione del patrimonio artistico di Roma e del Lazio (VII Settimana dei Musei). Roma, Palazzo Venezia, 12-19 aprile 1964. Catalogue.
The Italian archaeological researches in Asia have been documented here through a series of photographs and a group of sculptures from Butkara I (Swat) belonging to the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome (see Catalogue, p. 31 ff.).

PLATES



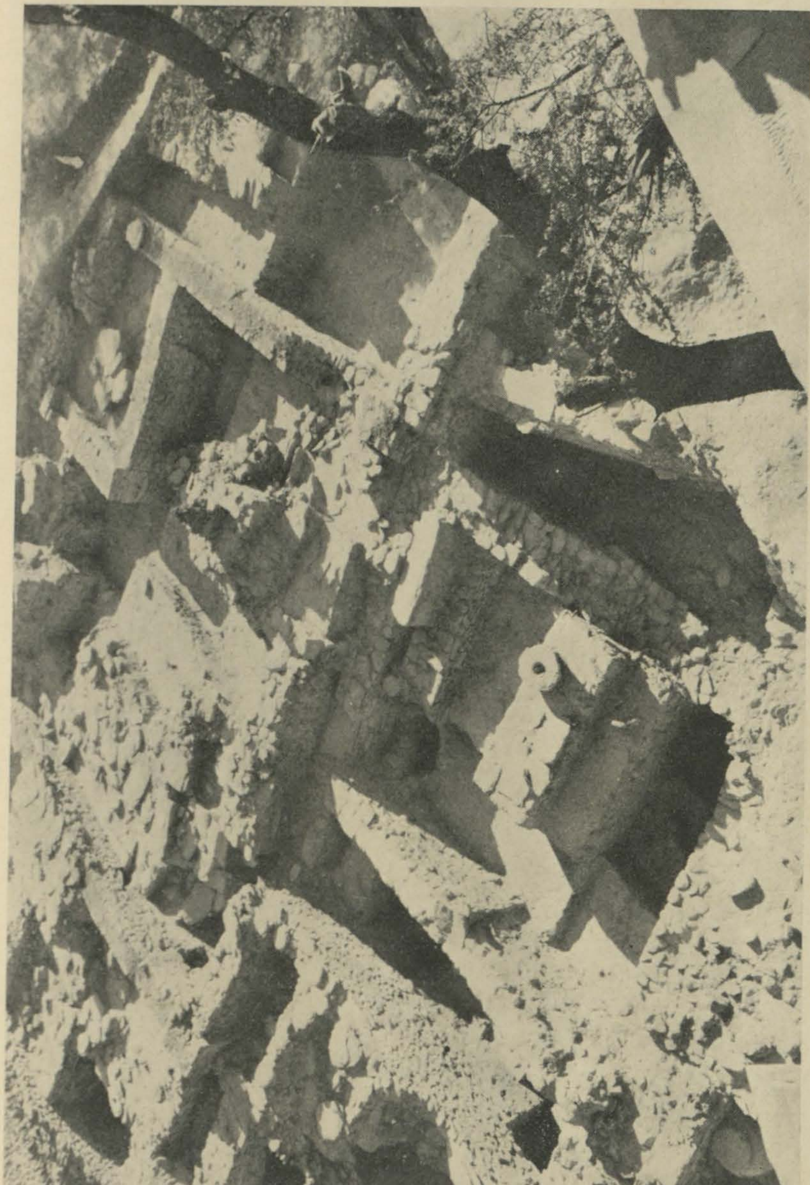
UDEGRAM: GODGARA – A rock–carving representing an ibex.

Plate II.



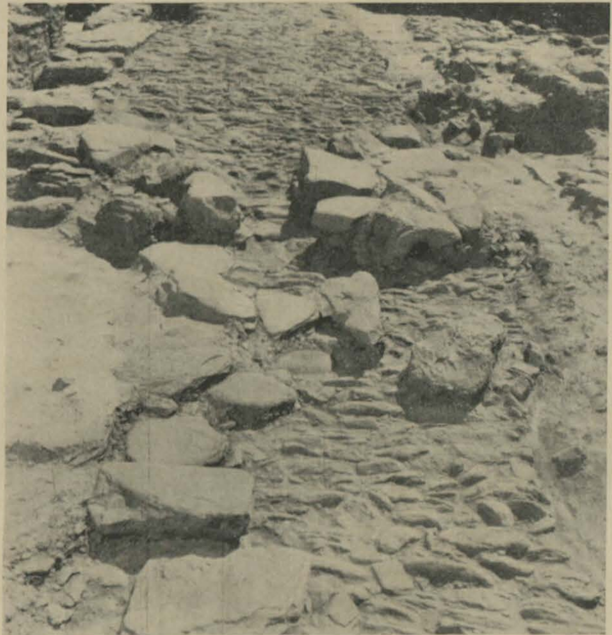
UDEGRAM: " BAZAR " – Partial view of excavation from the North-West.

Plate III.



UDEGRAM: "BAZAR" – Partial view of excavation: the deepest levels.

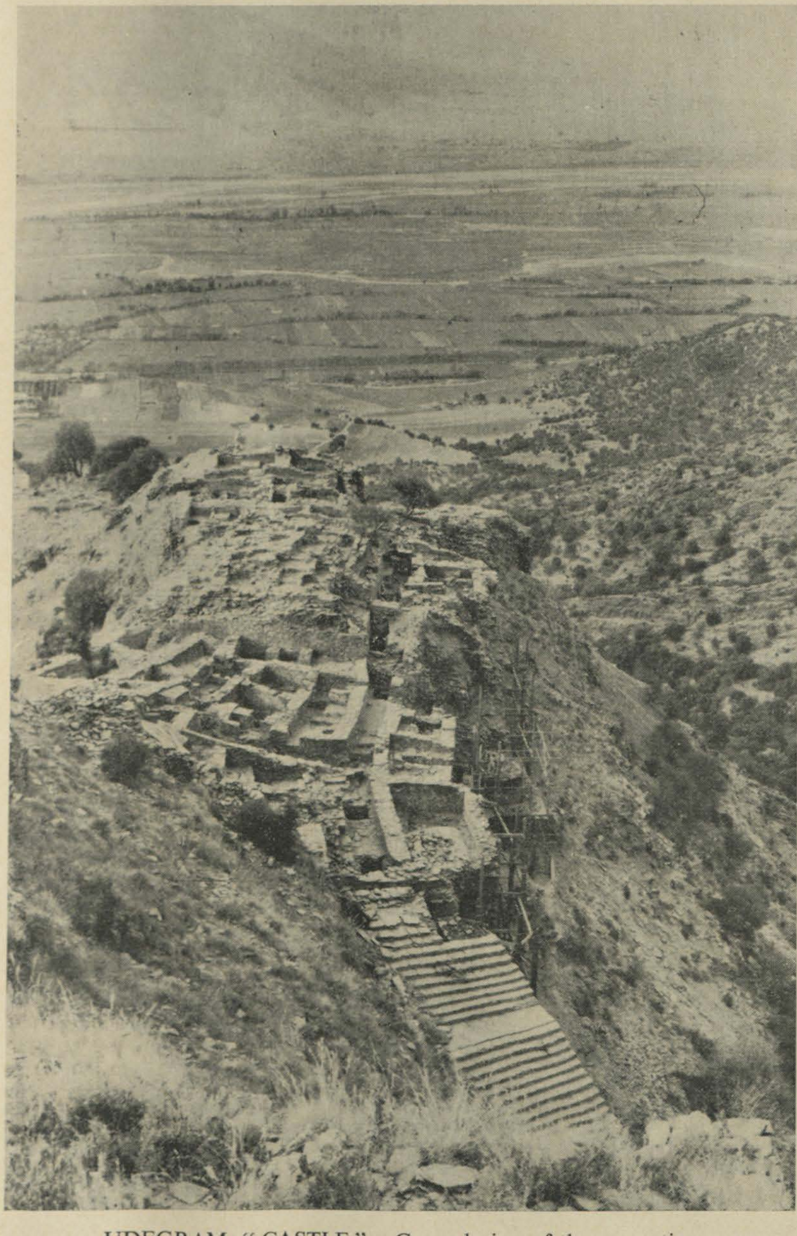
Plate IV.



UDEGRAM: " BAZAR " – Pavement of the street at level II.

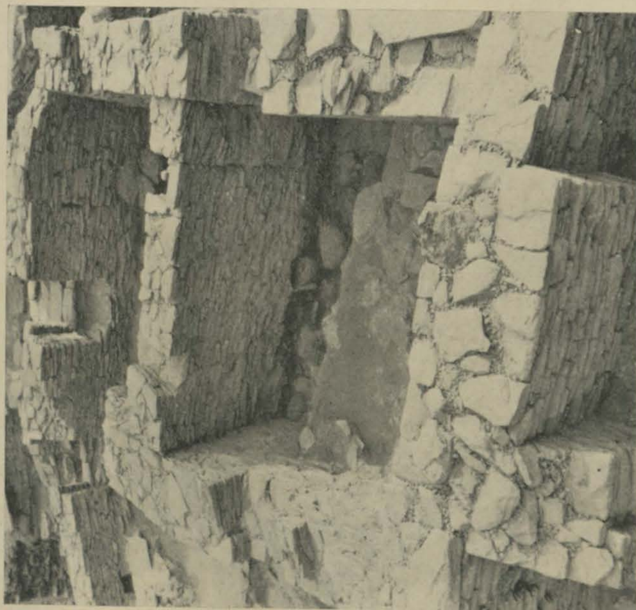


UDEGRAM: " BAZAR " – Floor of level II with inset pots and bench.



UDEGRAM: " CASTLE " - General view of the excavation.

Plate VI.



UDEGRAM: "CASTLE" – Room 6.



UDEGRAM: "CASTLE" – Corridor 1a.



BUTKARA I – Sacred Precinct: right portion of the North side of stūpa 14, showing its green schist decoration *in situ*.

Plate VIII.



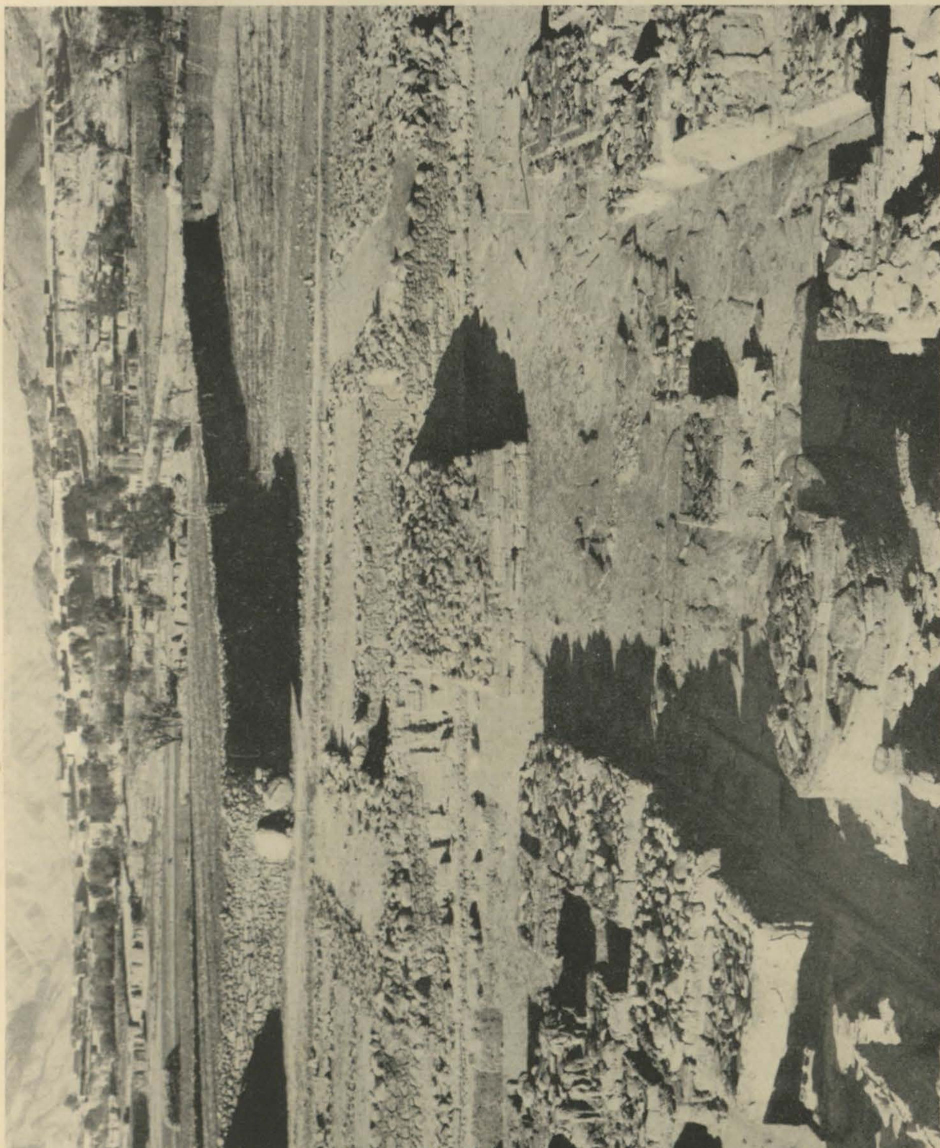
BUTKARA I – Sacred Precinct: South-East side of stūpa 83.



BUTKARA I – Sacred Precinct: the re–used lunette let into the East wall of stūpa 70 (Inv. No. 2816; *in situ*).



BUTKARA I – Sacred Precinct: column 78, West side.



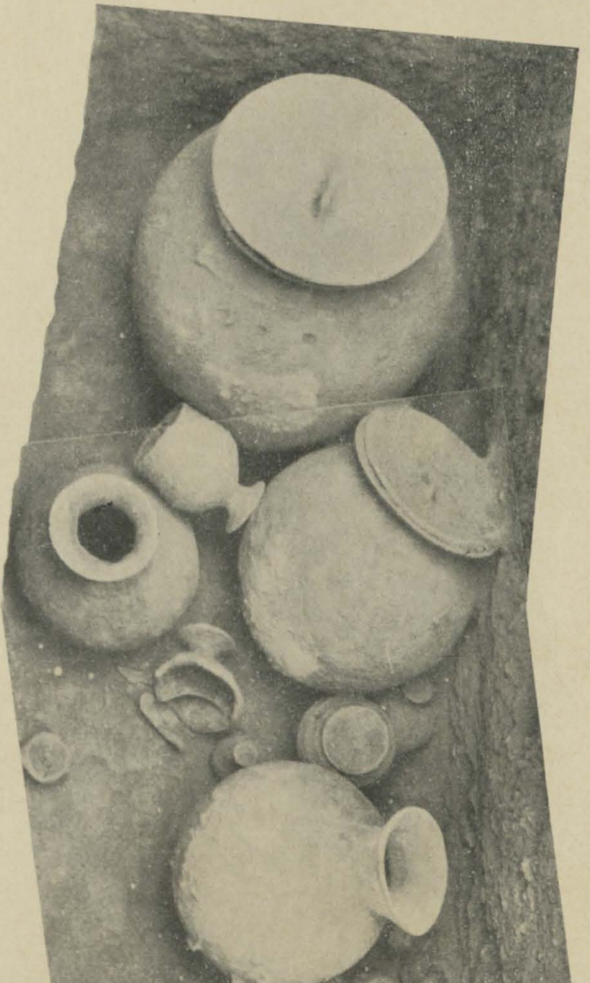
BUTKARA I – Sacred Precinct: South view of the Great Building.

Plate XII.



PANR - Sacred Precinct: column, East side.

Plate XIII.

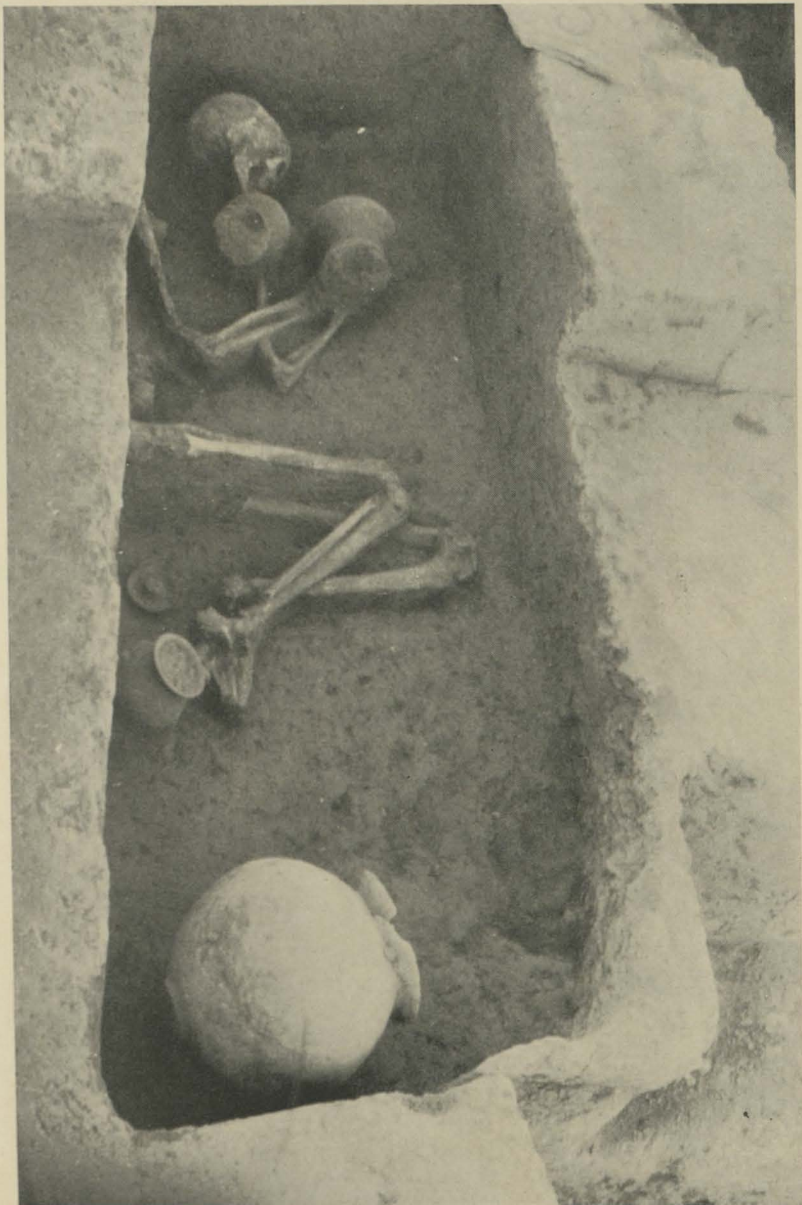


BUTKARA II – Grave 3 with semi-cremation rite.

Plate XIV.



BUTKARA II – Grave 30 with inhumation rite.



BUTKARA II – Grave 45 with inhumation rite.



LOEBANR – Grave 60: a sample of re–use of a grave.



KATELAI – Grave 36: a sample of secondary burial.